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A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,

FROM THE

FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE

TO THE

PRESENT TIME.

By JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL. D. F. R. S. &c.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

Nactus sum præteritos dies non solum graves, verum etiam tanto atrocius miseros, quanto longius a remedio veræ religionis alienos; ut merito hac scrutatione claruerit, regnasse mortem avidam sanguinis dum ignoratur religio quæ prohibuerit a sanguine; ista illucescente, illam constupuisse; illam concludi, cum ista jam prævalet; illam penitus nullam futuram, cum hæc sola regnabit.

OROSIUS.

NORTHUMBERLAND:— Printed for the Author,
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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

PERIOD XXI.

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE IN A. D. 1418, TO THE REFORMATION, A. D. 1517.

SECTION I.

Of the Power of the Popes in this Period, and the Oppoſition that was made to it.

THE hiſtory of the popes in this period has not in it much that is properly of an eccleſiaſtical nature. They were now ſovereign princes, and had no other views in all their tranſ-

actions than the augmentation and preſervation of their temporal power. With this view, like other princes, they made treaties or broke them, and they made war or peace as beſt ſuited their purpoſes. Notwithſtanding the checks they met with, they ſtill aſſerted their authority in general, ſpiritual as well as temporal, in as high a tone as ever; and ſuch was the general prepoſſeſſion in their favour, from maxims and habits of long ſtanding, that tho' their power as princes was but ſmall, it was the great object of the policy of all the courts of Europe to gain their favour, and the moſt powerful were often obliged to give way to them.

The merely civil tranſactions of the popes in this period, ſuch as relate to war and peace, I ſhall as much as poſſible omit, only noting ſuch particulars in their pretenſions and conduct as are of a more remarkable nature, ſhewing the character of the men, and of the times, that the neceſſity of the reformation in the next period of the hiſtory may be more evident.

Tho' the ſuperiority of general councils to the pope was aſſerted in the decrees of the council of Conſtance, confirmed by Martin V, and thoſe of the council of Baſil, which was a ſequel to it, the maxim was never acknowledged by any pope afterwards; not even by thoſe who before they arrived at that dignity had moſt ſtrenuouſly maintained

tained that doctrine. In A. D. 1460 Pius II, who while he was only cardinal, and bore the name of Æneas Sylvius, had been the greateſt advocate for the ſuperiority of the councils, publiſhed a bull, in which he condemned all appeals from the popes to councils, which were then very common, as "erroneous, deteſtable, null, con-"trary to the holy canons, hurtful to Chriſtianity, "and even ridiculous." And in A. D. 1464 he publiſhed a ſolemn retractation of what he had written in favour of the ſuperiority of the council of Baſil, as the production of his youth; ſaying that he had erred, as Paul had done, and perſecuted the church of God, thro' ignorance.

Nothing that the popes did while they were only cardinals could bind them. Before the election of Paul II, in A. D. 1464, all the cardinals ſwore to a number of regulations, and even this pope himſelf confirmed them immediately after his election, but he preſently after paid no regard to them.

The popes claimed the ſole right of prohibiting books, and aſſerted that Chriſtian princes ought to publiſh their decrees on this ſubject as from the authority of the apoſtolic ſee, as of ſufficient force, without any ſanction of theirs. According to the antient diſcipline of the church, the cenſure of

books belonged to the councils. *Giannone*, Vol. 2. p. 392.

Appeals to the court of Rome were a great ſource of the wealth and power of the popes, and many attempts were made by the more ſpirited princes to prevent them, or at leaſt reſtrict them within certain bounds, while the popes were as watchful to retain and encourage them. In A. D. 1491 Innocent VIII publiſhed a bull excommunicating thoſe who obſtructed appeals to the court of Rome, in order to transfer the cauſes which had been uſually heard there to the ſecular courts.

After the extinction of the great ſchiſm, the popes were chiefly intent upon the aggrandiſement of their families, and they engaged in confederacies, and wars, chiefly with that view. Immenſe ſums were raiſed by them from church livings. For on the death of any incumbent, before a ſucceſſor was named, whatever he left was adjudged to the apoſtolic chamber. Collectors were ſent every where, who by ſevere extorſions ſeized even the ornaments of the churches, and put the heirs to great trouble with reſpect to the proper patrimony of the deceaſed. In caſe of any doubt, every thing was decided in favour of the chamber, and thoſe who oppoſed the execution were harraſſed with excommunications and cenſures. Theſe abuſes were tolerated in the kingdom of Sicily, and

tho'

tho' they were checked by Alphonſus I in A. D. 1431, they came in again in a great meaſure with Ferdinand the Catholic. They were, however, oppoſed in other countries, and in Spain reſtricted to the caſe of biſhops. In France and Germany they were not ſuffered at all. *Giannone*, Vol. 2. p. 489.

The power of diſpenſing with oaths, and even annulling the moſt ſolemn treaties, with heretics or infidels, was not relinquiſhed by the popes of this more enlightened period. But a memorable inſtance occurs in it of the folly, as well as wickedneſs, of that pretenſion. Tho' in A. D. 1444 the Chriſtians had made peace with Amurath the Turkiſh emperor, and Ladiſlas king of Poland and Hungary had ſworn to it on the Goſpels, as Amurath did upon the Koran; yet an opportunity occurring, of which the Chriſtians thought they could take advantage, pope Eugenius authorized cardinal Julian to abſolve him from his oath, and exhorted him to renew the war. But Amurath returning from Aſia in greater force than they expected, and in the courſe of the battle which followed holding up the treaty to which the Chriſtians had ſworn, cried, aloud, "This, O Jeſus, is the "treaty which the Chriſtians, ſwearing by thy "name, made with me. If thou be a God, re"venge thy injuries and mine." Then, gaining

a complete victory, both Ladiſlas and the cardinal were ſlain.

There was no want of good ſenſe, or ſpirit, in ſeveral of the temporal princes of this period, to ſet the pretenſions of the popes at defiance; but the ſuperſtition of the common people, and the ſituation of their affairs, made it neceſſary for them to give way. In A. D. 1488 Innocent VIII excommunicated Ferdinand king of Naples for refuſing to pay the ſtipulated tribute, depriving him of that kingdom, publiſhing a cruſade againſt him, and inviting king Charles of France to join Nicolas de Urſino, whom he had appointed commander of the forces againſt him. Ferdinand, however, perſiſted in his diſregard of theſe proceedings, and he appealed to a future council. But at length his fear of Charles brought him to ſubmit to the terms required of him.

The oppoſition made by the Venetians to Julius II promiſed ſomething more, but ended in a ſimilar manner. In A. D. 1509 this pope publiſhed a moſt violent bull againſt them for their uſurpation of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, threatening them with every thing that had ever been denounced by former popes; and for a long time they paid no regard to it, but appealed to a future council. All the effect it had at firſt was that a few monks, particularly attached to the court of Rome, left the city;

city; while all the other clergy, ſecular and regular, continued to diſcharge their functions as before. The pope then publiſhed another bull, annulling their appeal, and laying all their eſtates under an interdict. This, however, they would have diſregarded; but being diſtreſſed in the war againſt them, in which the pope joined his forces, they wiſhed to make peace with him. His demands, however, being thought too exorbitant, the people ſpared no invectives againſt him.

At length it was thought neceſſary, on account of the ſituation of their public affairs, that the doge ſhould write to the pope in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, leaving the ſatisfaction they were to make to himſelf; and the year following he granted them abſolution, but on the following humiliating terms. Six ambaſſadors from the republic proſtrated themſelves at the pope's feet, and viſited the ſeven churches in Rome. They were obliged to deſiſt from their appeal to a council, to confer only lay benefices, to admit of appeals to Rome, to allow the pope to levy any taxes upon their clergy, and alſo to grant him many advantages of a civil nature; and thus he was fully ſatisfied. Thus, ſays the hiſtorian, this republic which had paid leſs regard to the thunders of the Vatican than any other ſtate, ſubmitted to the moſt imperious conditions,

ſuch as only the moſt haughty and ſucceſsful ſovereign would have impoſed.

In order to ſupport the expences which ſuch a ſyſtem of power required, the popes had recourſe to various methods, which rendered them exceedingly unpopular; but yet not ſo much ſo as to occaſion any open or confirmed revolt. The wars which Sixtus IV promoted againſt the Turks, his preſents, and public buildings, and his furniſhing the Vatican library, which he provided with Greek, Latin, and Hebrew librarians, induced him not only to create new offices in his court, but to diſpoſe of them for large ſums, which was much complained of, as it took from able and worthy men the means of advancing themſelves.

In A. D. 1457 the Germans made loud complaints of the pope's violation of the agreement that had been made with their emperors, in taking from the country more than he ought to have done, but he exculpated himſelf on account of the expences he had been at in repulſing the Turks, when the Chriſtian powers in general had been inattentive to their progreſs, and ſuffered them to take Conſtantinople. On this occaſion Æneas Sylvius wrote in defence of the pope, and was anſwered by James de Wimphile and others.

The right of the popes to grant countries to thoſe who would diſcover, conquer, and chriſtian-

ize

ize them, as alſo to grant titles, &c. ſeems to have been undiſputed in this period. In A. D. 1420 Martin V granted to the Portugueſe all the countries they ſhould diſcover from the promontary of Genara to the Eaſt Indies; and in A. D. 1492 Alexander VI granted to Ferdinand, king of Arragon, the inveſtiture of all the countries his ſubjects ſhould diſcover to the Weſt. But on the diſcovery of America by Columbus, the Portugueſe objected to this grant, as inconſiſtent with that which had been made to them by Eugenius IV, of all the land they ſhould diſcover to the Eaſt. However, after many aſſemblies held at Rome on the ſubject, the Portugueſe were obliged to acquieſce in the pretenſions of the Spaniards. In A. D. 1494 the ſame pope granted to Ferdinand and Iſabella the right of conquering Africa, on condition of their eſtabliſhing the Chriſtian religion in it; but, not to interfere with the claims of the Portugueſe, he reſtricted their permiſſion to the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis; that of Fez and the neighbouring countries being within the grant to the Portugueſe. In A. D. 1496 this pope to the great diſſatisfaction of the Portugueſe, gave the title of *Catholic* to the kings of Spain. He had intended to take the title of *moſt Chriſtian* from the kings of France; but ſome of the cardinals remonſtrated againſt it.

The Chriſtian world is indebted to the univerſity of Paris for much of the juſt oppoſition that was made to the unreaſonable pretenſions of the popes and their advocates before the reformation. In A. D. 1430 John Sarrazin a Dominican was cenſured by it for maintaining that "all eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, except that of the pope, was derived from him, that theſe juriſdictions are not immediately of divine right, that all the decrees of councils derive their force from the pope, that other ſpiritual powers can do nothing againſt him, and that he cannot be guilty of ſimony." In conſequence of this cenſure, the author was obliged to retract his propoſitions. In A. D. 1470 the faculty of theology at Paris condemned a propoſition of John Meunier, another Dominican, that the apoſtles did not receive their authority from Chriſt himſelf; but from St. Peter. In A. D. 1497 Charles VIII propoſed to this faculty whether the pope was not bound by the decrees of the council of Conſtance to aſſemble a general council every ten years, and whether, on his refuſal, the ſecular princes might not call one without him. They anſwered in the affirmative, and added, that the then preſent time was peculiarly proper for it, there were ſo many notorious diſorders in the church, both in the head and the members.

members. The death of this prince prevented his proceeding any farther in the buſineſs.

But the moſt effectual oppoſition to the papal uſurpations was made not by arguments, but actions. Of theſe, and ſome very perſevering and ſucceſsful ones, there are ſeveral inſtances in the courſe of this period.

Commendams had not been much uſed in Germany, tho' they were at this time frequent in other parts of Europe. Sigiſmund duke of Auſtria had, on this ſubject, a difference with the cardinal of Cuſa, who held the biſhopric of Brixen by commendam from the pope, without reſiding. The caſe had been propoſed at the council of Mantua, but was not decided; and the parties coming to an open rupture, the cardinal was taken priſoner, and was not releaſed till he had paid a conſiderable ſum for his ranſom, and had likewiſe engaged for the abſolution of Sigiſmund, who had been excommunicated by pope Calixtus.

The agreement being broken, and hoſtilities reſumed, the cardinal was again made priſoner, when he purchaſed his releaſe by the ſurrender of a caſtle, and paying another large ſum. On this Pius II excommunicated the duke. But not terrified with this, he appealed to a future council, the act of appeal being drawn up by Gregory of Heimburg, a doctor of law. The pope then addreſſed

dreſſed a letter to the people of Germany, in which he ordered Heimburg to be avoided, as a heretic, and guilty of high treaſon, for appealing to a council after his expreſs prohibition of it. He alſo ordered all his goods to be confiſcated. But Heimburg appealed againſt this bull, and this led to a controverſy, in which Heimburg inveighed againſt the pope with more violence than had ever been done in that age.

This pope had appointed a nephew of cardinal Sbignée to the archbiſhopric of Cracow, tho' Caſimer king of Poland had named another perſon; and notwithſtanding the remonſtrances, menaces, and even excommunications, pronounced againſt Caſimer and his adherents, the cardinal's nephew was obliged to reſign; the king having declared that he would ſooner loſe his crown than ſuffer a biſhop in his dominions againſt his conſent, which, ſays the hiſtorian, was no ſmall mortification to the holy father.

In A. D. 1461 Pius II excommunicated the archbiſhop of Mayence for not appearing before him, and paying the annates of his church, according to his promiſe. On this the archbiſhop appealed to a future council, and was ſupported by the princes of Germany, who complained of the exorbitant ſums demanded for the confirmation of his election, the tenths of his benefice, and other griev-

grievances by which the Germans in general were affected, in order to raiſe money, on the pretence of the Turkiſh war, but which was employed for other purpoſes. Nothing, however, being done in conſequence of the princes declaring for him, he made his peace with the pope; but giving freſh offence by continuing to officiate as biſhop before his excommunication was taken off, another archbiſhop was appointed by the pope, and the two prelates were at open war, till they made peace by a diviſion of the revenues, the latter retaining the title and the office.

The German princes on many occaſions ſhewed a ſpirit of reſiſtance to the papal claims. When Sixtus IV ſent to collect the tenths of the benefices in Germany, for the war againſt the Turks, which more immediately affected the empire, and they were threatened with an excommunication, they abſolutely refuſed to pay them.

The people of Florence, more enlightened than any other in this age, had frequent conteſts with the popes, and ſome of them continued a long time. In A. D. 1478 Sixtus IV excommunicated Lorenzo of Medicis, and laid the city of Florence under an interdict, for hanging the archbiſhop of Piſa, who had been engaged in a conſpiracy againſt the Medici, in which Julian the brother of Lorenzo was murdered in a church, and Lorenzo him-

himſelf very narrowly eſcaped. But tho' the pope gave them to underſtand that he would remove the interdict if they would baniſh Lorenzo, they perſiſted in their neglect of it, throwing the blame of the whole tranſaction on the pope, as the original author of the conſpiracy. They even aſſembled the biſhops of Tuſcany, in order to appeal to a future council, and obliged the prieſts to celebrate maſs notwithſtanding the interdict. They were ſecretly aſſiſted by the Venetians, but afterwards they made their peace with the pope.

In the time of this pope the ſpirit of reſiſtance appeared in Scotland. For having made Patric Graham, the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, his legate in that country, the lords would not ſuffer him to exerciſe his functions; it being, they ſaid, a violation of the antient rights of the kingdom.

The citizens of Rome were never well affected to the civil government of the popes. They had alſo frequent conteſts for the poſſeſſion of Bologna. In A. D. 1420 Martin V recovered the poſſeſſion of this city, after it had long been independent of the ſee of Rome. In that year he left Florence, where he had reſided ſome time, and went to Rome, which he found in a very ruinous condition, but it was ſoon reſtored to its former ſplendour. Nothing but the advantages the people were ſenſible they derived from the reſidence of the popes kept them

them in obedience. In A. D. 1434 the inhabitants of Rome revolting from pope Eugenius, he diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a monk, and fled to Florence. But after ſix months they made their peace with him, and received the magiſtrates of his appointment.

Rome appears to have been very ill governed in this as well as in the preceding periods, and to have ſuffered extremely for want of a good police. On the death of Innocent VIII, in A. D. 1492, there were dreadful diſorders in Rome. The city was abandoned to the mob, who plundered houſes, and filled the ſtreets with carnage. The judges durſt not appear for fear of being expoſed to the rage of the people, who curſed the late pope for having had, as they ſaid, no compaſſion for the poor. At the time of the election of another pope, the ſtreets were ſo crouded with banditti, robbers, and aſſaſſins, that the cardinals were obliged to introduce whole companies of muſketeers into their palaces, and to have canon pointed to the avenues leading to them. The ſtreets of the burgh of St. Peter were barricaded with large pieces of timber, behind which were placed ſoldiers, while the light horſe continually paraded round the palace.

The perſonal characters of the popes in this period had nothing to recommend them. They were all men of ambition, ſome of them very rapacious,

pacious, and alſo profligate in other reſpects. Cardinal Borgia, who after Innocent VIII was pope, and took the name of Alexander VI, was not only, ſays the continuator of Fleury, unworthy of the pontificate, but of the loweſt functions in the church. While he was cardinal he had by Vanotia, the wife of D. Arimano, four ſons and a daughter. His eldeſt ſon, Lewis Borgia, was duke of Gandia, the ſecond, called Cæſar, was a cardinal, and afterwards the duke Valentinois, the moſt cruel and ambitious of men; but his father had ſuch a blind fondneſs for him, as to overturn all laws, human and divine, in order to advance him.

SECTION II.

The Hiſtory of the Councils of Baſil and Florence.

THE greateſt conteſt the popes had in this period was with the council of Baſil, and tho' their conduct was manifeſtly irregular, yet by ſuperior addreſs, and perſeverance, they triumphed in the end. At the council of Conſtance, little having been done in the reformation of the church; either, as the phraſe then was, in *the head, or the members,*

members, it was appointed that other councils ſhould be held, at times then fixed for that important purpoſe. When this time was come, ſo that it could not be decently deferred, Martin V ſummoned one to meet at Piſa; and, ſending three legates, it was opened in the uſual forms in May A. D. 1423. But few prelates arriving, and there being ſome apprehenſion of a plague in that city, it was transferred to Sienna, where the firſt ſeſſion commenced the 8th of November, and ſome decrees were made reſpecting the Huſſites. But before they proceeded to any articles of reform, the pope, fearing leſt the ambaſſador of the king of Arragon ſhould give him ſome diſturbance about Benedict XIII, who was then living, and favoured by him, but chiefly dreading any regulations of reform, he put off the council to another time and place, on the pretence of the ſmall number of prelates attending, and the wars with which the empire was then diſtracted.

However, his legates, having ſufficient powers for that purpoſe, and being deſirous of promoting the object of the council, appointed another meeting at Baſil, ſeven years from that time, the archbiſhop of Toledo alone objecting to it, as ſeeming to be made with a view to elude the propoſed reformation. Others expreſſing the ſame apprehenſion, the legates declared that by this tranſlation

the council could not be conſidered as even interrupted, for that, in the mean time, the preſident and deputies would ſeriouſly labour in the buſineſs of the reformation of the church.

In the mean time Martin was ſucceeded by Eugenius IV, a man ſtill more averſe to the council, and who did every thing that he could to prevent its meeting, well aware that it could not but be prejudicial to his authority. This, however, was not in his power; and the firſt ſeſſion at Baſil was held December 14th, A. D. 1431, when it was opened by cardinal Julian, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his embaſſies to Bohemia; and the members of the council, deſirous of promoting the proper object of it, uſed every precaution to prevent the cabals of the Italian prelates, who were in the intereſt of the pope. And being apprized of the pope's intention to diſſolve the council, the firſt decrees they made were in confirmation of thoſe of the council of Conſtance; aſſerting the power of the council, and the obligation of all perſons to ſubmit to its decrees, in whatever reſpected articles of faith, the extinction of ſchiſm, and the reformation of the church; that if any perſon whatever, even the pope, ſhould refuſe to obey its decrees, he ſhould be put in a ſtate of penance. They farther decreed that the pope had

no

no power to diſſolve, transfer, or prorogue, the council, without its own conſent.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſpirited decrees, and all the endeavours of cardinal Julian, who wrote repeatedly, and in the moſt earneſt manner, to diſſuade the pope from his purpoſe, ſeconded by a deputation from the council itſelf, and the reſolutions of the prelates of France, who had been aſſembled at Bourges, and had aſſerted the validity of the council at Baſil; notwithſtanding alſo the ſtrong remonſtrance of the emperor, Eugenius perſiſted in the publication of his bull for the diſſolution of the council. On this the members of it pronounced him contumacious, ſuſpended from the adminiſtration of the pontificate, and forbad any one to obey him.

By proceeding ſo far, however, the council ſuffered much in the eſteem of the princes of Europe; who, dreading another ſchiſm, wiſhed them to proceed with more moderation, thinking it to have been poſſible to gain the pope, if they had adopted more lenient meaſures. But in this reſpect the council had formed a truer judgment of his character than they. The pope, tho' at that time attended by no more than three cardinals, publiſhed a bull, declaring the decrees of the council againſt him to be null, by the plenary authority with which he ſaid he was inveſted as pope. At length, how-

ever, his temporal affairs not being in the beſt ſituation, and urged by the emperor, who wiſhed to moderate the violence of both parties, and by any means to prevent another ſchiſm, he revoked his bull, and acquieſced in the decrees of the council; expreſsly confirming thoſe relating to the ſuperiority of general councils to the pope, in whatever reſpects articles of faith, the extinction of ſchiſm, and the reformation of the church.

Poſſeſſed of this advantage, the council decreed that the popes ſhould take an oath, not only at their election, but annually on the anniverſary of it, that they held the catholic faith, and the decrees of all the general councils, expreſsly mentioning thoſe of Conſtance and Baſil. And among their articles of reformation, they decreed that the popes ſhould not give any places of power and truſt to their relations beyond the ſecond degree.

The pope, as might be expected, was exceedingly offended at theſe decrees; and paying no regard to any of their reforms, the council cited him to appear before them in ſixty days. In vindication of their conduct, they wrote to all the princes of Europe; and he not appearing, they once more declared him contumacious. In the mean time, he gained a deciſive advantage over the council, by ſending legates to Conſtantinople; who arriving before thoſe of the council, prevailed upon

upon the Greeks, who then courted an union with the Latins, to ſend their ambaſſadors to a council which the pope propoſed to aſſemble at Ferrara, when the Fathers at Baſil had propoſed to give them a hearing at Avignon. With this advantage Eugenius publiſhed a bull, in which he allowed the members of the council at Baſil to continue their ſittings thirty days, but only for the purpoſe of treating with the Bohemians. To this they paid no regard, but declared the pope's calling of a council to meet at Ferrara to be null, and threatened him with depoſition if he did not recall his bull for that purpoſe.

Not diſcouraged by the ſpirit which the council ſhewed, the pope fixed the meeting of his council for the 8th of January, A. D. 1438; and on the 10th it was actually opened; when he declared the tranſlation of the council from Baſil to Ferrara, and that every thing that ſhould be done there from that time ſhould be null, except what related to the Bohemians. Cardinal Julian, who had hitherto preſided in the council of Baſil, now left it, and joined that at Ferrara, tho' only four prelates accompanied him. All the ambaſſadors from the princes of Europe remained at Baſil, and the king of France expreſsly forbad any of his prelates to go to Ferrara.

The prelates at Baſil, not diſcouraged by the deſertion of their preſident, or the proceedings at Ferrara, not only continued their ſittings in defiance of the pope's prohibition, but again declared him ſuſpended from his juriſdiction. Being now in a ſtate of open hoſtility, he forbad their aſſembling under pain of excommunication, and ordered them to leave the place within thirty days. He alſo ordered the magiſtrates of the city to drive them from it, under pain of excommunication and interdict; and forbad any proviſions or merchandiſe to be carried into it while they continued there. They, however, ſhewed no leſs ſpirit, declaring the aſſembly at Ferrara ſchiſmatical, ordered the members to appear before them within a month, and excommunicated all thoſe who ſhould directly or indirectly hinder any perſon from going to Baſil. After this, however, all farther hoſtile proceedings were ſuſpended by the interpoſition of the ambaſſadors from the diet at Nuremberg. Albert duke of Auſtria alſo entertained ſome hope that, by his interceſſion with the pope, an open rupture might be prevented, in conſequence of which nothing was done till May A. D. 1438.

In January A. D. 1439 the pope, on the pretence of the plague being in Ferrara, removed his council to Florence, the people of that city having promiſed to defray a conſiderable part of the ex-

expence; and this city being more convenient for him in ſeveral reſpects. Here were all the proceedings relating to the union of the Greek and Latin churches, of which an account will be given in a ſeparate ſection; and during all this time the council at Baſil continued to ſit, attended by the ambaſſadors of all the princes of Europe, except thoſe of the duke of Burgundy, who were at Florence. They would not, however, conſent to any of the decrees againſt the pope, but preſerved a kind of neutrality. This moderation had no effect on the members of the council. For, after long debates on the ſubject, they proceeded on the 25th of June to paſs the ſentence of depoſition on the pope as "a ſimoniac, a perjured perſon, an "encourager of ſchiſm, a heretic, obſtinate in his "errors, and a diſſipater of the goods of the church;" and it is ſomething remarkable that this decree was paſſed at Baſil on the very day that the union of the two churches was concluded at Florence, an event that to appearance reflected the greateſt honour upon him.

The princes of Europe were by no means ſatisfied with this violent proceeding of the council at Baſil, and their deputies, ſent to inform them of it, were univerſally ill received. At Frankfort and Mayence they were expreſsly told that the princes of Germany would not depart from their neutrali-

ty, but would appeal to a council more general than that at Baſil, to pope Eugenius and the apoſtolic ſee, or the perſon to whom it rightly belonged. Eugenius himſelf, hearing of their proceedings, acted with no leſs violence, publiſhing a bull, in which he annulled all they had done, declaring them excommunicated, heretics, and ſchiſmatics, and that there was no puniſhment great enough for them or their adherents.

The prelates at Baſil replied; but after much debating on the ſubject, refrained from calling his decree heretical. However, after much preparation, they proceeded to the election of another pope, and the choice fell on Victor Amadeus, late duke of Savoy, but who had relinquiſhed the ſovereignty, and lived a religious and recluſe life near the lake of Geneva. After much heſitation, he accepted the nomination, and took the name of Felix V. On this Eugenius declared him a heretic, and ſchiſmatic; he excommunicated his electors and adherents, and in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt, created ſeventeen new cardinals.

The election of another pope was ſo like the commencement of another great ſchiſm, which had produced ſo much miſchief, and had been ſo difficult to terminate, that the beſt friends of the council of Baſil greatly diſapproved of it. When the members of the council demanded of the princes of Ger-

Germany, at their diet in Frankfort in A. D. 1440, their acknowledgment of Felix, they refuſed to do it. Notwithſtanding this, they excommunicated all who would not acknowledge him, of what rank ſoever they were, and alſo renewed their decree againſt Eugenius, while he again excommunicated Felix, calling him antipope, heretic, ſchiſmatic, &c. to which he replied with equal violence.

In order to ſupport the dignity of the new pope, the council voted him a fifth of the revenues of the greater eccleſiaſtical benefices for the five firſt years of his pontificate, and a tenth afterwards. The princes of Europe were divided in a ſingula rmanner in this dilemma. The kings of France, England, and Scotland, and the German princes, acknowledged the council of Baſil, but not the pope they had elected. But Elizabeth queen of Hungary, Albert of Bavaria, and Albert of Auſtria, acknowledged Felix, as did Piedmont and Savoy, and the univerſity of Paris, with thoſe in Germany and Cracow in Poland. Italy, and the reſt of Europe, acknowledged Eugenius.

In an aſſembly of the German princes at Mayence, in A. D. 1441, orators on both ſides were heard at great length; but inſtead of declaring for either, the princes recommended the calling of another council in ſome city of France or Germany; and for this purpoſe invitations were ſent

both to Eugenius and Felix. Both ſides then applied to the emperor Frederic, who was at Vienna, but he referred them to the diet which was to be held at Frankfort the year following. Then alſo it was agreed to ſend ambaſſadors both to Eugenius, and the council of Baſil, to propoſe another council, to be held in Germany; and to this the members of the council, tho' with reluctance, conſented, but Eugenius, with great haughtineſs, rejected the propoſal.

In the mean time Alphonſo of Arragon ſubmitted his ſix kingdoms to the obedience of Felix. The ſame was alſo promiſed by Ulric governor of Bohemia, then hard preſſed by the Huſſites. The biſhop of Cracow alſo acknowledged Felix, and the king of Poland was favourable to him.

Soon, however, after this his affairs took an unfavourable turn. In A. D. 1443 Alphonſo, after negociating with Felix, made better terms with Eugenius, and then acknowledged him, and recalled his prelates from Baſil. Felix himſelf, being diſſatisfied with his council, retired to Lauſanne, and refuſed to return; ſaying he found by experience that the council was better governed there, than at Baſil. At length the wars of Germany, the retreat of the prelates of Alphonſo, the preſſing inſtances of the emperor to call another council, the abſence of Felix, and the little

aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance they could expect at Baſil, obliged the members of the council to ſeparate, after their fourth ſeſſion in May A. D. 1443, and after nominally transferring the council to Lyons, or Lauſanne, but without ever meeting there. Felix was ſometimes at Lauſanne, and ſometimes at Geneva, attended by four cardinals. But two of them dying, and one of them going to Vienna, he had obtained the leave of the council to create five more. In the mean time Eugenius had removed his council from Florence to Rome, where he himſelf arrived Sept. 28, A. D. 1443.

The king of France, and the princes of Germany, who intereſted themſelves the moſt in this buſineſs, propoſed different ſchemes of accommodation. The latter ſent a letter to Eugenius from the diet of Frankfort in A. D. 1446 propoſing another general council, which he ſhould acknowledge to be ſuperior to the pope; but the king recommended the withdrawing of all the cenſures on both ſides, the acknowledgment of Eugenius, and the reſervation of the higheſt honours in the church next to that of pope to Felix. Preſently after, receiving the deputation from Germany, the pope died in February 23, A. D. 1447. But before his death he granted ſeveral of their demands in favour of their churches, and he died in ſome meaſure like a chriſtian, annulling all that had been done

done contrary to the holy ſee during the ſchiſm, abſolving all thoſe who had adhered to the council of Baſil after his rupture with it, and alſo reſtoring them to their dignities, provided they returned to the unity of the church.

On the death of Eugenius, his cardinals choſe for his ſucceſſor the cardinal of Bologna, who took the name of Nicolas V, and was immediately acknowledged by the emperor, and the princes of Germany, as alſo by the king of France; and from this time all reſpect for the remains of the council of Baſil was withdrawn. Thus encouraged, Nicolas publiſhed a bull, in which he excommunicated Felix, calling him "a child of iniquity, a "ſchiſmatic and heretic." He alſo gave the dutchy of Saxony, which adhered to him, to the king of France, or the dauphin, and granted a plenary indulgence to thoſe who ſhould aſſiſt in the conqueſt of it for them. To ſatisfy the Germans, he entered into a treaty with them called the *Concordat*, in conſequence of which the diſpoſal of certain eccleſiaſtical benefices was reſerved to himſelf, and the reſt left to free election.

In the time, Felix being weary of oppoſition, and having expreſſed a willingneſs to reſign the dignities with which the council of Baſil had inveſted him, Nicolas was not inexorable, but publiſhed a bull, in which he annulled all that had been

been done during the ſchiſm; and in order to put an end to it in the eaſieſt manner, the king of France held an aſſembly at Lyons, in conſequence of which ambaſſadors were ſent to Nicolas and Felix from France, and alſo from England, and it was agreed that the latter ſhould reſign, but continue a cardinal biſhop, be legate, and perpetual vicar of the holy ſee in Savoy, have the firſt place next to the pope, and other perſonal honours. Favourable ſtipulations were alſo made for the cardinals of Felix, their dignity being allowed. Accordingly Felix reſigned in proper form April 9th, A. D. 1449; and thoſe who remained of the members of the council of Baſil, aſſembling at Lauſanne the 16th of the ſame month, authorized in proper form all that had been agreed to; they received the reſignation of Felix, and elected Nicolas, in the uſual manner. Thus was the laſt ſchiſm in the Roman church happily terminated, to the great joy of all Chriſtendom. Felix retired to Ripailles, where he lived three years, dying in A. D. 1452, at the age of 68.

It is impoſſible to conſider this hiſtory without ſeeing that the credit and authority of all councils is derived from the ſupport of the temporal powers; and that without this, no regularity in the form of convocation, or in the proceedings, is of any avail.

SECTION

SECTION III.

Of the Councils of Piſa, and Lateran.

AS the ſpirit of pope Eugenius IV enabled him to get the better of the council of Baſil, that of Julius II, which was no way inferior to that of any pope, enabled him to triumph over that of Piſa, notwithſtanding the advantage it derived from the authority of the council of Conſtance, which was certainly intitled to very great reſpect. A reformation of the church, in its head as well as its members, was univerſally deemed to be neceſſary; and in order to enſure this great object, proviſion was made for a ſucceſſion of general councils, the authority of which was decided to be ſuperior to that of the popes. Senſible, however, that their power would be materially affected by any reformation, they had uſed all their influence to prevent the convocation of any ſuch council, and, as in the caſe of that of Baſil, to defeat the object of them when aſſembled in the moſt regular manner. Many of the cardinals, however, and all the princes of Europe, being aggrieved by the exactions of the court of Rome, favoured the calling of councils, by which they hoped

hoped to be relieved, and eſpecially when they had any difference with the popes, whom they wiſhed by this means to mortify.

In A. D. 1511, after an open war between Julius II and ſome of the ſtates of Italy, aſſiſted by the king of France, a council was called in the name of nine cardinals, the emperor, and the king of France, to meet at Piſa, after the pope had in vain been invited to concur in the meaſure, and had been reminded of his engagement to call a council within two years of his election. The profeſſed object of this council, as well as of that of Baſil, was the reformation of the church in its head and members, and the pope himſelf was in the moſt reſpectful manner cited to appear and preſide in it.

In order to ward off this blow, the pope, encouraged by the coolneſs of the emperor in the buſineſs, publiſhed a bull, convoking another general council, to meet at Rome in April A. D. 1512; and forbidding under pain of excommunication the celebration of any other general council. He alſo publiſhed another bull againſt thoſe cardinals who were the principal authors of the convocation of the council at Piſa, ſummoning them to appear before him, and threatning them with the deprivation of their ranks as cardinals, and of all their eccleſiaſtical benefices in caſe of diſobedience.

Theſe

Theſe cardinals, tho' not a little intimidated by this threat, perſiſted in their purpoſe, and wrote to the cardinals at Rome in vindication of their conduct. They alſo publiſhed another apology for holding a council, and giving their reaſons for doing it without the concurrence of the pope. And in November 1, A. D. 1511, the council was actually opened; when it was attended by four cardinals, the principal of whom was Caravajal biſhop of Bayeux, who was preſident, procurators from ſeveral others, many prelates, and among them the archbiſhops of Lyons and Sens, the abbot of Citeaux, and others, a deputy from that of Clugny, ſome doctors from the univerſity of Paris, and many other reſpectable perſons.

In the firſt ſeſſion the members of this council aſſerted their power to meet and act notwithſtanding the cenſures of the pope; in the ſecond they made regulations for their future proceedings, and in the third they decreed the ſuperiority of general councils to the pope, and the obligation to ſubmit to their decrees.

As ſoon as the pope was informed of the opening of the council, he excommunicated by name all the cardinals who attended it; depriving them of their dignities and benefices. But the cardinals who were with him not approving of this violence, he was ſo much agitated, that he fell ſick, and his death

death was expected. However, when he recovered he abated nothing of his violence. And in the mean time the people of Florence, who were maſters of Piſa, apprehending inconvenience to themſelves from the holding of the council in that city, when the pope was ſo hoſtile to it, the members removed to Milan, where they were under the protection of the emperor, and where they were received with great joy.

At Milan the council was better attended than it had been at Piſa, two more cardinals having joined it, and ſeveral more biſhops and abbots. They then appointed a farther time for the pope to fix upon ſome place where they might meet him, for the purpoſe of holding the council, anſwered his excommunications, and forbad the domeſtics of any of their members to leave the city without the conſent of their maſters; as many of them, terified by the bulls of the pope, had done. In another ſeſſion they decreed the convocation of the council at Rome to be null, and allowed the pope twenty four days to retract what he had done with reſpect to it; and this term being expired, they proceeded ſo far as to decree his depoſition, and exhorted all chriſtian people no longer to acknowledge him, being "a diſturber of the council, contumacious, the author of ſchiſm, incorrigible, and "hardened."

The emperor had never been very zealous for the council, and being at length gained by the pope, the members found it neceſſary for them to leave Milan, and transfer the council to Lyons, where they were under the protection of the king of France. But he not being able to engage other princes in their ſupport, they could not proceed any farther. Lewis himſelf, however, accepted the decrees of this deſerted council, and forbad his ſubjects having any recourſe to Rome; while the pope, perceiving his advantage in the general deſertion of the council, iſſued a bull, annulling all that had been done at Piſa, Milan, or Lyons. He alſo excommunicated the king of France, and laid the kingdom under an interdict; and to puniſh the city of Lyons for receiving the council, he deprived it of the privilege of holding its annual fair, and removed it to Geneva. The king, provoked by this violence, replied by a ſpirited proteſt, and alſo ſtruck a medal, with the arms of France on the reverſe, and this motto *Perdam Babylonis nomen.*

About this time cardinal Cajetan publiſhed a treatiſe, and ſent a copy of it to the members of this council, in which he aſſerted the ſuperiority of the pope to all councils. This the king of France referred to the judgment of the univerſity of Paris, who appointed three perſons to reply to it; but the

the members of the univerſity did not themſelves proceed any farther than to condemn what he had advanced againſt the authority of the councils of Conſtance and Baſil. In this treatiſe the cardinal advanced that "St. Peter had alone the govern-"ment of the church, that tho' the other apoſtles "received their apoſtleſhip from Chriſt himſelf, "yet as part of his flock, they were ſubject to Pe-"ter; that he received his authority by the order "of nature, but they theirs by ſpecial favour; that "he was the vicar general of Jeſus Chriſt, and "they his lieutenants and delegates; that their au-"thority expired at their death, but that his was "continued in his ſucceſſors; that their power was "that of executing, but his of commanding;" diſtinctions ſays Fleury, altogether new. He further aſſerted, that in no caſe except that of hereſy, could a council be lawfully called to depoſe a pope, and then that they had no other buſineſs than to chuſe another.

Julius, tho' diſappointed in his endeavours to procure the attendance of the archbiſhop of Toledo, the celebrated Ximenes, and the archbiſhop of Seville, nevertheleſs opened his council with much ſolemnity, May 3, A. D. 1512, when it was attended by fifteen cardinals, three hundred and eighty biſhops or archbiſhops, but all of Italy, and ſixteen abbots or generals of orders. And the third

ſeſſion, which was held in December, was attended by the biſhop of Gurck, who was ſent by the emperor to ſignify his renunciation of all that had paſſed at the council of Piſa, and his approbation of the preſent council of Lateran. In this ſeſſion were read all the pope's bulls in condemnation of the council of Piſa, and againſt the king of France; and in the fourth were read the letters of Lewis XI, ſignifying his abrogation of the pragmatic ſanction; when all who favoured it were cited to appear in ſixty days. A fifth ſeſſion was held February 16, A. D. 1513, but the pope dying before that time in Feb. 21, nothing of importance was done in it.

Julius was ſucceeded by the cardinal of Medicis, who took the name of Leo X, a great favourer of men of letters, by which his family was diſtinguiſhed, but, given to voluptuouſneſs, and prodigality. He entered into all the views of Julius, and held the ſixth ſeſſion of the council the 11th of April A. D. 1513, in which the prelates were divided into three claſſes, one to treat of the peace among the chriſtian princes, the ſecond of matters concerning faith, and the third what related to the reformation and the pragmatic ſanction.

In the ſeventh ſeſſion, held the 17th of June, letters were read from the cardinals Carovajal and Severne, renouncing the ſchiſm, condemning the acts

acts of the council of Pisa and acknowledging that of Lateran. But an event of much more consequence than this, was the king of France now acknowledging the authority of this council, and renouncing that of Pisa. To this conduct he had always been solicited by the queen, who was strongly prepossessed in favour of the pope, and the court of Rome. It was, besides, with the greatest reluctance that he himself had quarrelled with the pope, and he had always wished for a reconciliation; and therefore, on the pope's making an apology for engaging the Swiss to act against him, he sent ambassadors for the purpose of making his peace. The two cardinals above mentioned, after expressing their repentance were with great ceremony restored to favour, and reinstated in the dignity of which they had been deprived.

The parliament of Provence had always exercised the right of annexing their signature to the pope's bulls, without which they were not allowed to be issued. This the popes had always complained of, and in the eighth session of this council a monitory was issued to command the members of that parliament to appear before them within three months; and the king being now reconciled to the pope, they made the submission that was required of them, and the pope confirmed their privileges.

In the ninth ſeſſion, held May the 5th, deputies from the king of Arragon attended, and what was more, the prelates who had formed the council of Piſa, and who were then at Lyons, ſent to make their ſubmiſſion, renouncing all their proceedings, and apologiſing for not attending the council in perſon, on account of their not having been able to procure a ſafe conduct for their paſſage of the Alps. The excuſe was admitted, and they were abſolved from all the cenſures that had been paſſed upon them. The tenth ſeſſion, held May 14, was attended by ambaſſadors from the duke of Savoy, to ſignify his ſubmiſſion to the council. At the ſame time, the laſt term was fixed for the French to give their reaſons againſt the abolition of the pragmatic ſanction.

Two other ſeſſions were held, one on the 11th, one the 19th of December, in which the Maronites acknowledged their ſubmiſſion to the church of Rome, a bull was publiſhed relating to the buſineſs of preaching, and another for the abolition of the pragmatic ſanction, and in approbation of the Concordat, of which an account will be given in another ſection, and on the ſixteenth of March, A. D. 1517, the council was cloſed, after the holding of the twelfth and laſt ſeſſion, in which was read a letter from the emperor Maximilian on the ſubject of the Turkiſh war, a bull to prevent the plundering

plundering the houſes of the cardinals who ſhould be elected popes, and another for the diſſolution of the council; in which it was ſaid, that, as the ends for which it had been convoked were happily anſwered, peace being eſtabliſhed among the chriſtians, the reformation of manners, and of the court of Rome effected, and the aſſembly of Piſa aboliſhed, there was no reaſon for its longer continuance. Several of the prelates, however, obſerved that many things yet remained to be regulated, and that therefore the council ought to ſit longer; but the plurality of voices were for its diſſolution.

Thus ended the fifth council of Lateran, after it had continued near five years. The great buſineſs of *reformation* was ſtill left in nearly the ſame ſtate in which it had been at the council of Conſtance, no abuſe of any conſequence being removed. But what the church would not do for itſelf, the providence of God was preparing the means of doing in a much more effectual manner, by the inſtrumentality of Martin Luther, who was about this very time beginning to declaim againſt the doctrine of indulgence, which led to his rejecting the papal authority *in toto*, and engaging ſeveral ſtates of Europe to renounce their ſubjection to the ſee of Rome.

SECTION IV.

Of the Pragmatic Sanction, and Concordat.

NEXT to the councils, the moſt ſerious alarm the popes had in this period, was the oppoſition that was made to their exactions by the kings of France; but this, like the buſineſs of the councils, terminated in favour of the papal ſee, though the popes did not gain all they wiſhed, and all they gained was with difficulty.

While the two oppoſite councils of Baſil and Ferrara were ſitting, Charles VII of France held an aſſembly at Bourges in A. D. 1438, where deputies from both were heard; and then it was that the ordinance called the *Pragmatic ſanction*, in favour of the liberties of the Gallican church, was paſſed. It took from the pope almoſt all the power of conferring benefices, and judging eccleſiaſtical cauſes in France. It alſo confirmed all the good regulations made by the council of Baſil, the authority of which it eſtabliſhed above that of the popes. This law was ſent by ambaſſadors appointed for the purpoſe to the council of Baſil, and received its confirmation. It was obſerved during

during all the reign of Charles VII, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of pope Eugenius to procure the abolition of it. When William de Maletrot, biſhop of Nantes, appealed in A. D 1456 to the pope againſt this law, the parliament of Paris ordered his temporalities to be ſeized, as having by that appeal violated the rights of the Gallican church, and a fundamental law of the kingdom; ſince, as they ſaid, the king holds his temporalities of God only, and tho' the pope may excommunicate him, he cannot deprive him of his eſtates, and that the pope cannot cite before him any of the king's ſubjects. In conſequence of this, the biſhop found it neceſſary to reſign his biſhopric in favour of his nephew, and the pope, unable to give him any other redreſs, made him biſhop of Theſſalonica.

At the council of Mantua, in A. D. 1459, Pius II complained heavily of the injuſtice done to the church, and the authority of the papal ſee, by the Pragmatic ſanction; tho' in the council of Baſil, of which he was an active member, he had approved of it. But the parliament of Paris was offended at what the pope had ſaid on the occaſion, and the procurator general made a formal appeal, in the name of the king, from the ſentence of the pope, to a future council; tho' the pope had by a parti-

cular bull, juſt before condemned all ſuch appeals.

The politic and ſuperſtitious Lewis XI, who wiſhed to keep meaſures with the court of Rome, promiſed this pope the abolition of the Pragmatic ſanction, which gave him ſo much offence; but the pope not fulfilling what he had promiſed in return for ſuch a favour, and both the parliament of Paris and the univerſity remonſtrating againſt it, he made ſuch ordinances reſpecting reſerves and expectatives, that the court of Rome derived very little advantage from what the king had done in its favour. To pleaſe the pope, he had even diſmiſſed the procurator general for his oppoſition to the pope in this buſineſs; but it was obſerved, that he conferred greater favours on him in another way, and was always his friend. In A. D. 1476, this prince gave more offence to the pope, by ordering that all perſons who came from Rome, ſhould, at their entrance into the kingdom, ſhew the letters, bulls, and other writings which they brought; that it might be ſeen whether they contained any thing contrary to the ſtate, or the intereſt of the Gallican church.

In A. D. 1478 this king held an aſſembly of his clergy and nobles at Orleans, with a view, as he gave out, to reſtore the Pragmatic ſanction, and aboliſh the annates. At the ſame time he requeſted

queſted the pope to take off the interdict which he had laid on the city of Florence, threatning, in caſe of his refuſal, to withdraw from his obedience, and appeal to a future council. He alſo ordered all the prelates of France to reſide on their livings, on the penalty of the deprivation of their benefices. Nothing however, was done in conſequence of theſe reſolutions, as the king only meant to intimidate the pope, and to favour the Florentines. He however forbad his ſubjects going to Rome in order to obtain benefices, or to ſend any money thither.

Thus things continued till the death of Lewis XI. His ſon Charles VIII ſhewed ſtill more ſpirit. In A. D. 1485 cardinal Balue being ſent legate to France, and exerciſing his functions before his letters to the king had been preſented to parliament and accepted, the king was ſo much offended, that he forbad him to uſe the badge of his legantine office. The procurator general of the parliament alſo took the opportunity of appealing againſt all that the pope ſhould do, accuſing him of infringing the rights and privileges of the kingdom.

Other things were done by the court of France not immediately in conſequence of the Pragmatic ſanction, which gave great offence to the court of Rome. Alexander VI having in A. D. 1502, impoſed

impoſed a tenth upon the clergy of France for the expence of the Turkiſh war, the univerſity of Paris, having conſulted the faculty of theology, decreed that ſuch an impoſition being contrary to the decrees of councils ought not to be obeyed, and that the cenſures of the court of Rome in conſequence of this refuſal ought not to be regarded; it being an immemorial cuſtom in France, that there ſhould be no levy without the king's conſent.

In A. D. 1510 Lewis XII being, tho' much againſt his will, in a ſtate of hoſtility with the pope, aſſembled the clergy of his kingdom at Tours, in order to conſult them how far he could in conſcience aſſert his rights againſt the injuſtice of Julius II, and how far the ſpiritual arms of the church were to be reſpected, at the head of an army, who made uſe of them to ſupport injuſtice in temporal affairs; when they agreed, that the pope had no right to make war in a caſe in which neither the cauſe of religion, nor the dominions of the church, was concerned. They further ſaid, that a temporal ſovereign may lawfully ſeize upon the lands of the church for a time, in order to deprive the pope, being his enemy, of the power of hurting him, and that, in this caſe, alſo, the cenſures of the pope ought not to be regarded.

In return for this, the pope fulminated his cenſures againſt all thoſe who ſhould obey the decrees

crees of the French clergy, and againſt the general of the French army by name, conſidering their conduct as an attack on the authority of the holy ſee. On this occaſion, however, five of his cardinals left him, and joined the council, which was then at Milan, notwithſtanding all his endeavours to prevent it. And the French general was ſo far from being intimidated by the pope's bulls, that ſeveral attempts were made by him to get poſſeſſion of his perſon.

On the acceſſion of Francis I to the crown of France, and of Leo X to the popedom, this difficult buſineſs was compromiſed. They had a meeting at Bologna in A. D. 1515, and the pope inſiſting upon the abolition of the Pramatic ſanction, the king referred the buſineſs to the chancellor du Prat, who conſented to the exchange of the Pragmatic ſanction, for another ſyſtem, called the *Concordat*, in conſequence of which the kings of France were to nominate to the church livings, and the popes were to have the annates of the more conſiderable of them.

The French nation in general were exceedingly diſſatisfied with this agreement; and the chancellor made himſelf very unpopular by his conduct in this buſineſs; and the advocate general, at the opening of the parliament in A. D. 1516, appealed from the act of revocation, and abrogation of the Pragmatic

Pragmatic ſanction. It had not, however, any other effect than to increaſe in the French nation their diſlike of the court of Rome, and did not diſcourage the pope. When the act of revocation came to the uſual form of regiſtering in parliament, tho' the king, as bound in honour to fulfill his agreement with the pope, uſed his utmoſt endeavours, and did not ſpare even threats, the parliament for a long time refuſed to comply. The univerſity made a ſtill more obſtinate reſiſtance, appealing to the pope better adviſed, and a future council. In the act which they publiſhed on this occaſion, March 27, A. D. 1517, they ſaid, "The "vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, called the pope, tho' he has "his power immediately from God, is not impec- "cable; that, if he command any thing that is un- "juſt, he ought to be reſiſted; that if he will com- "pel the faithful to obey him, natural right leaves "them the remedy of an appeal, which the king "cannot take from them, being founded on divine "right."

They then make an encomium on the councils of Conſtance and Baſil, and paſs ſevere cenſures on Leo and the council of Lateran, which they ſay was not convoked in the ſpirit of the Lord, becauſe the Holy ſpirit orders nothing contrary to the divine law, and the ſacred councils; and laſtly they

they accuſe him of nothing leſs than aiming at the ruin of the church, in conferring benefices on the moſt unworthy perſons, to deprive thoſe who have merit, which compel them to appeal to a future council, and proteſt againſt the nullity, the abuſe and the injuſtice of all that ſhould be done againſt the Pragmatic ſanction. At length, however, the act of its abolition was regiſtered by the parliament, but not without ſome modifications, and as "by the expreſs order of the king, often "repeated, and in the preſence of an envoy deput-"ed by the king for the purpoſe." This was done by way of ſignifying their own ſtrong diſapprobation of the act.

SECTION V.

The Hiſtory of the Huſſites.

AT the time of the death of John Hus it is evident that a great majority of the Bohemians, and eſpecially the nobility, were his friends, and they were exceedingly exaſperated at the conduct of the council of Conſtance, eſpecially in the violation of the ſafe conduct that had been given

given him; and nothing that was done by the council, or the popes afterwards, had any tendency to appeaſe their reſentment. Being a warlike people, and having an able commander in Ziſca, they had recourſe to arms, rather than, as would better have become chriſtians, ſuffer perſecution without reſiſtance.

The war was kept up a long time, and with a degree of ferocity and cruelty which has too generally characteriſed religious and civil wars. But the iſſue of this, as well as of every other ſimilar caſe, ſhewed that the cauſe of *truth* is never really promoted by *arms*. Notwithſtanding the great ſucceſs of the Huſſites for a conſiderable time, their numbers diminiſhed rather than increaſed, as it is probable they would have done by perſecution, and after their great defeat in A. D. 1434, all who oppoſed the church of Rome in that part of Europe dwindled to an inconſiderable ſect; and what is particularly remarkable, having ſeen the folly of having had recourſe to arms to ſupport religion, they as well as the Anabaptiſts afterwards, became the moſt peaceable and paſſive of all chriſtians. For ſuch are the *Moravian brethren*, who are all that remain of the once formidable Huſſites. It will be neceſſary to give ſome account of their wars, as well as of other particulars in their hiſtory, but the recital ſhall be as brief as poſſible.

After

After the death of Hus and Jerom of Prague, near five hundred of their followers in Bohemia were ſummoned to appear before the council; and not attending, they were declared to be contumacious. Seeing their extermination was determined, they formed an army of forty thouſand men for their defence, under the command of Ziſca, who choſe for the place of his chief reſort a mountain ſome miles from Prague, where they formed themſelves into a regular body, openly diſclaiming the authority of the pope, as no more than any other biſhop, rejecting purgatory, prayers for the dead, the uſe of images, confeſſion, and the faſts of the church, and they communicated in both kinds. Winceſlas, who favoured them, granted them the uſe of ſeveral churches in Prague.

Martin V, preſently after his election in A. D. 1418, publiſhed a bull againſt the Huſſites, ordering them to be delivered to the ſecular arm, and enjoining all chriſtian princes to aſſiſt in exterminating them. In this bull he inſerted forty five articles of the doctrine of Wickliffe, and Hus, condemned by the council of Conſtance, in which he directed that all ſuſpected perſons ſhould be examined on oath.

So far were the troubles of Bohemia from being appeaſed by this bull, or the decrees of the council, that they were increaſed, and that year the

Huſſites were joined by forty Picards, probably Waldenſes from Picardy, who came to Prague with their wives and families. Before recourſe was had to open war, a Dominican was ſent to reclaim the Huſsites; but he ſoon returned, and gave it as his opinion, that nothing would reduce them but force. This too was the opinion of Gerſon, in the advice that he gave to Sigiſmond the year before. So much were the Huſsites increaſed, that on the 16th of April, being aſſembled in the caſtle of Viſigrade, they deputed Nicolas de Huſsinetz to Winceſlas, to requeſt the uſe of more churches, thoſe which had been allowed them not being ſufficient. He deſired time to conſider of their requeſt, and at the expiration of the time that he had fixed, required them to appear before him, but without arms; but by the advice of Ziſca, who knew the timid temper of the king, they appeared with their arms, ſaying it was the privilege of their nation, and to ſhew him their readineſs to fight his enemies. Struck with their courage and reſolution, he diſmiſſed them with a favourable anſwer.

On the death of Winceſlas, in A. D. 1418, Ziſca and his followers refuſed to acknowledge his brother Sigiſmond; ſaying that after his conſent to the death of John Hus and Jerom of Prague, he was unworthy of the crown; and taking advantage

tage of the war in which he was engaged with the Turks, they declared war againſt him. Nothing, however, appears to have been done in conſequence of this, till the year A. D. 1420, when they defeated a body of imperial cavalry, and recovered Moſca, from which the Huſsites had been expelled. On this the emperor ſent a thouſand lances, and the choiceſt of his cavalry; but they alſo were cut off, and it was with much difficulty that the commander of them ſaved himſelf. In this ſtate of their affairs, the Huſsites expecting to be attacked by all the forces of the emperor, fortified a place to which they gave the name of *Tabor*, and they defeated ſome forces which the emperor ſent to take it. After this Ziſca made himſelf maſter of Prague, and alſo took Viſigrade.

About this time there appeared ſome new ſectaries, called *Orebites*, who exerciſed great cruelties on the catholic prieſts, and Ziſca received them among his own troops. This ſame year the pope publiſhed a cruſade againſt the Huſsites; but the army that was raiſed in conſequence of it deſerted their commander on the approach of Ziſca. At the ſiege of Robi this year, Ziſca loſt the only eye that he then had; but notwithſtanding this diſadvantage when he recovered of the wound, he reſumed the command of the army.

The emperor, being now ſeriouſly alarmed at the progreſs of the Huſſites, aſſembled the diet of the empire at Nuremberg. when all the nobility of Germany agreed to join their forces againſt them; and accordingly they all took the field, except the elector of Treves, who was ſick, and who arrived on the frontiers of Bohemia in Auguſt; but not being able to take Soez, which they beſieged, the troops deſerted in the month of October. The emperor himſelf had not been able to join them, becauſe he could not bring his troops from Auſtria and Hungary, as they diſliked the ſervice, before December. It being impoſsible then to do any thing, he propoſed a truce; but the Huſſites refuſed to agree to it, except on ſuch terms as the emperor would not admit, viz. that preaching ſhould be free thro' all Bohemia, that the communion ſhould be in both kinds, that the clergy ſhould have no poſſeſsions in land, or any civil juriſdiction, and that mortal (by which they meant public) ſins in any perſon ſhould be animadverted upon.

Shortly after this the Huſſites addreſſed a letter to certain princes, to juſtify themſelves againſt the charge of rebellion, and in this they accuſed Sigiſmond of the death of John Hus, and of promoting the cruſade againſt them; profeſsing that they had recourſe to arms in the defence of their religion

religion, their liberties, and their lives. At the ſame time they threatened to act hoſtilely againſt all who would not admit of the four articles above mentioned. In this ceſſation of hoſtilities they held a council in Prague, when they agreed on twenty two articles, ſome of which, however, occaſioned a diviſion among them.

About this time there arrived in Bohemia ſome of thoſe who called themſelves *brethren of the free ſpirit*, who had been very numerous in France, Flanders, and Germany, but ſtill more im Suabia and Switzerland, tho' few of them eſcaped the purſuit of the inquiſitors. One of their leading principles was ſaid to have been that baſhfulneſs and modeſty are marks of inherent corruption, and, that they were not properly purified, till they could behold without emotion the naked bodies of the different ſexes; and therefore they, ſometimes at leaſt, frequented public worſhip in that ſtate, whence they were called *Adamites*, and were univerſally and naturally ſuſpected of incontinence. Ziſca ſo far from receiving thoſe people, fell upon them in A. D. 1421, and putting ſome of them to the ſword, condemned the reſt to the flames, which they ſuffered with the greateſt fortitude. *Moſheim*, Vol. 3, p. 274.

It can hardly be doubted, however, but that theſe people were no other than Waldenſes, Picards, or

Lollards (terms of the ſame ſignification) that the indecencies they were charged with as Adamites were mere calumnies, and that the true reaſon of Ziſca's averſion to them was their differing in opinion from him, and their taking part with his enemies. They denied the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and refuſed to adore the hoſt. One of them being put to the torture, ſaid, "It is not "we that are in an error, but you who cauſe us to "be burned. Deceived by falſe teachers, you "proſtrate yourſelves before a creature, a piece of "conſecrated bread, and burn incenſe before it, "imagining that you are offering upon the altar "for the living and the dead, the body of Jeſus "Chriſt which is in heaven." *Beauſolre in L'Enfant's Baſle*, Vol. 2, p. 329.

The Waldenſes were in Bohemia in A. D. 1178, and were well received at Zatee and Launi on the river Egra, near the frontiers of Miſnia, from which place they probably entered Bohemia. Being in great numbers in an iſland formed by the river Lauſuitz near Neuhaus, in the diſtrict of Bechin, they took arms,* and were defeated by Ziſca. Ib. p. 393.

The

* L'Enfant ſays they joined the Taborites. But according to other accounts the diviſion of the Huſſites into Orphelins and Taborites did not take place till after the death of Ziſca.

The ſame year viz. A. D. 1421, the Huſsites made an offer of the crown of Bohemia to the king of Poland; but he declining it, they offered it to Withold, duke of Luthiania, who accepted of it, and ſent an army to their aſsiſtance. But making his peace with the emperor, he ſoon after abandoned them; when they were again left to themſelves; but they had no more occaſion for the uſe of arms during the life of Ziſca. In A. D. 1424, the emperor deſpairing of conquering the Huſsites, propoſed a treaty in which he agreed to give up to Ziſca not only the government and the command of the forces, but the revenues of the country, retaining the ſovereignty only. Theſe terms were accepted, and preſently after, when Ziſca was going to wait on the emperor, he was ſeized with the plague, and died October 6th, A. D. 1424.

On the death of Ziſca the Huſsites divided into two parties, one called *Taborites*, commanded by Procopius, ſurnamed *the Great*, and the other *Orphelins* (to ſignify the loſs they had of their great chief Ziſca) who choſe freſh chiefs every year, except that in battle they were commanded by another Procopius, called by way of diſtinction from the other, *the little*. Both parties uniting in a common cauſe, and not obſerving the terms of the treaty that had been made with Ziſca, plun-

dered the catholic countries in their neighbourhood. The emperor then making a new treaty with them, allowed them the free exercise of their religion, till the meeting of the council of Basil. The citizens of Prague accepted these terms, but the army refusing them, Henry bishop of Winchester was sent as legate in A. D. 1428, and with an army, to subdue them. But this army was beaten, and his camp taken. After this the Hussites divided themselves into three bodies, and committed dreadful ravages in Hungary, Poland, and Austria. *

In A. D. 1430 the Hussites extending their ravages to Silesia and Misnia, the pope sent cardinal Julian at the head of an army, procured by the publication of a second crusade; when all the electors of the empire, and all the princes, ecclesiastical and secular, promised to raise a powerful army.

The

* Among the Taborites were many whose opinions were very extravagant, and led to much mischief. They demanded the erection of an entirely new hierarchy, in which Christ alone should reign. Some of them, as Martin Loquis, a Moravian, were of opinion, that Christ himself would descend in person, armed with fire and sword, to extirpate heresy, and thought that they ought to pursue the enemies of Christ in the same manner. Hence the dreadful ravages of which they were guilty. *Mosheim*, Vol 3, p. 263.

The army was raiſed, but it had no more ſucceſs than the former. Tho' it conſiſted of forty thouſand German horſe, beſides a numerous infantry, they fled on the approach of the Huſsites, abandoning their camp and every thing in it.

The emperor deſpairing again of ſucceſs in the way of arms, wrote a ſoothing letter to the Huſsites, inviting them to ſend deputies to the council of Baſil; and tho' the Orphelins objected to it, it was agreed to by the majority, and accordingly a ſafe conduct being granted them, four deputies were ſent, two from their clergy, and two from their nobility, who arrived at Baſil January 4, A. D. 1432, and were received with great reſpect. They propoſed the four articles above mentioned, promiſing that if they were granted, they would, in every other reſpect, conform to the catholic church. They were permitted to argue at large in defence of all their articles, and were anſwered by the members of the council, the diſcuſsion continuing from January 16, to March 6; when, receiving no ſatisfaction, the deputies returned to Prague, accompanied by ambaſſadors from the council.

Theſe ambaſſadors were received with much reſpect, and employing their addreſs in concert with Maynard, a Bohemian nobleman, they ſuc-

ceeded in ſowing diviſions among the Huſsites, and induced the count of Pilſen to revolt from them. Preſently after this, they were driven out of Prague, and a battle being fought in A. D. 1434, on the octave of the feſtival of the holy ſacrament, both the Procopius's were ſlain; and afterwards when they had entered into terms with their enemies, all the old ſoldiers who had fought under Ziſca were treacherouſly put to death. After this they made no appearance in the field; but a treaty being entered into between them and the deputies of the council, it continued a long time, the Huſſites objecting chiefly to the uſurpations of the poſſeſſions of the church being termed ſacrilege. At length however, at an aſſembly held at Iſlaw in A. D. 1436, at which the emperor aſſiſted, they gave up three of the articles they had before inſiſted upon, and contented themſelves with gaining the fourth, which was the communion in both kinds.

Thus an end was put to a cruel war, which had deſolated the country twenty two years. But the pope and the court of Rome objected to the terms. The Huſsites had farther demanded of the council of Baſil, that their children might receive the euchariſt immediately after baptiſm, but it had not been granted to them. On theſe accounts the ſchiſm, tho' not the war, was renewed by a conſiderable number of the Huſsites, who publiſhed forty

forty five articles of a new confeſſion of their faith.

In A. D. 1448 pope Nicolas ſent a legate into Bohemia, but he heſitating to ſatisfy the demands of Rokyſan, to be archbiſhop of Prague, which the Bohemians inſiſted upon, it was with difficulty that he eſcaped out of the country. At this time there were two lieutenants in the kingdom of Bohemia, Maynard, a favourer of the old religion, and Petarſcon, a friend of Rokyſan. He dying was ſucceeded by Podiebrad, who ſeized upon the city of Prague, and put Maynard in priſon, where he ſoon died; and being then ſole governor of the kingdom, he gave the archbiſhopric to Rokyſan, without waiting for the bull from Rome.

In A. D. 1453 Ladiſlas, then thirteen years of age, was crowned king of Bohemia, according to the rites of the catholic Church. He even refuſed to go into a church belonging to the Huſſites, or to adore the hoſt that was carried before Rokyſan. He diſcovered a ſtill greater averſion to the Huſſites after his return to the kingdom, in A. D. 1457, juſt before his intended marriage with a daughter of the king of France; and as he preſently after this died of poiſon, his death was generally imputed either to Rokyſan, or Podiebrad* whoſe intereſt it

* This name is written by Fleury and others *Pogebrac*, and under his effigies in L'Enfant's Hiſtory it

it was that a prince ſo zealous for the catholic religion ſhould not be their king.

On his death, Podiebrad was elected king of Bohemia; and finding it neceſſary to gain the allegiance of the catholics, he took advantage of the diviſions among the Huſſites, and exterminated the greateſt part of them. On the defeat of their army, the two parties before mentioned had ceaſed; but they had ſeparated a ſecond time, and the Calixtins, being the ſtronger, had ſeized upon the city of Tabor. Being, however, perſuaded to ſend deputies to a general aſſembly of all the Huſſites, and abide by the reſolutions of the majority, they were condemned, and Podiebrad upon their refuſing to comply with the articles agreed upon, marched againſt them, and beſieging them in Tabor, not only took the place, but it is ſaid cut them all off to a man, and demoliſhed the fortifications.

Podiebrad alſo compelled all the Manicheans, or thoſe who paſſed for ſuch, to become catholics or leave the country. About two thouſand of them were baptized, but more than four hundred thouſand retired to Stephen duke of Boſnia, a Manichean like themſelves. The biſhop of Neva ſent three principal chiefs of the ſect

is *Podibraski*. I have given the name as I find it in L'Enfant's Hiſtory.

ſect in chains to the pope, who put them into a monaſtery, to be inſtructed in the principles of the catholic faith, and then ſent them back to the king, *Fleury*, Vol. 23, p. 123.

The people here called *Manicheans* were probably no other than Waldenſes, or ſuch as going by the appellation of *Adamites* were put to death by Ziſca.

It was not to be expected that, in an age ſo enlightened as this, and when opinions were ſo much diſcuſſed, all the Bohemians ſhould confine themſelves within the limits of the firſt reform by John Hus, or the Calixtins. Great numbers ſoon expreſſed a wiſh for a farther reformation. At the head of them was Gregory Rokyſan's ſiſter's ſon, and not being able to gain Rokyſan himſelf for their head, they, by his advice, and aſſiſtance, withdrew to a place in the lordſhip of Letitz near Leutomiſchel, between Sileſia and Moravia, which had been laid waſte by the ravages of war, and there they regulated their worſhip according to their own ideas, *Crantz*, p. 21. This they carried into execution about the year A. D. 1453; and in A. D. 1457, they had digeſted their ſcheme of church government, and at firſt called themſelves *brethren of the law of Chriſt*; but being afterwards joined by others, who had formed ſimilar plans, they took the name of *Unitas Fratrum*, or the *United brethren*

brethren, and they all agreed never to defend themſelves by arms, but only by prayer, and reaſonable remonſtrances againſt their enemies.

Their number increaſing, they were expoſed to great calamity and perſecution, neither Rokyſan, nor the king, chuſing to patronize them. Being declared outlaws, they were driven from their habitations in the depth of winter, and many of them died in priſon. All the apologies they addreſſed to the king, or the ſtates, only ſerved to exaſperate them, and the perſecution did not abate till the death of Podiebrad, in A. D. 1471. Some time before this Rokyſan had died, they ſay in diſpair.

Podiebrad, deſirous to recommend himſelf to his catholic ſubjects, always communicated in both kinds, and was at enmity with Pius II as long as he lived; but having puniſhed ſome catholics, on the charge of treaſon in A. D. 1466, he was excommunicated, and his ſubjects abſolved from their oath of allegiance. His crown was firſt offered to Caſimer king of Poland; but he not chuſing to contend with Podiebrad, who was ſupported by ſeveral of the princes of Germany, it was offered to Matthias king of Hungary, who at firſt alſo declined it, but was afterwards, encouraged to engage with Podiebrad, the catholics in Bohemia declaring for him. However, ſoon after this

this Caſimer, with the conſent of Podiebrad, permitted his ſon Uladiſlas to be appointed his ſucceſſor, and tho' the pope refuſed to confirm the choice, he became king of Bohemia.

In A. D. 1474, the Calixtins revolted from Uladiſlas, and in D. D. 1483, they drove the catholics out of Prague. They alſo compelled the monks to leave the city, and deſtroyed the monaſteries, the king not being able to reſiſt them.

In the reign of Uladiſlas the united brethren for the moſt part enjoyed peace, tho' ſeveral attempts were made to excite him to perſecute them; and in A. D. 1481 they were baniſhed from Moravia, Luſatia, and Sileſia, which had been ſeized by Matthias king of Hungary; and ſome of them went as far as Moldavia, and being taken by the Tartars even ſettled near mount Caucaſus beyond the Caſpian ſea. At this time, however, the brethren in Bohemia were not moleſted. But they were unfortunately divided among themſelves; ſome of them becoming anabaptiſts, and accuſing others of deſigns againſt the ſtate. This brought on them a grievous perſecution, which, however, did not leſſen their numbers; and at the begining of the ſixteenth century there were two hundred congregations of them in Bohemia and Moravia; when many men of learning, and ſome prieſts of the Calixtins joined them. They were

alſo

alſo joined by ſeveral lords, who built places of worſhip for them in the towns and villages, the churches being in poſſeſſion of the Calixtines. Being thus happily at reſt from perſecution, and having learned men among them, they publiſhed a tranſlation of the ſcriptures into the Bohemian or Schlavonian tongue, at firſt only from the vulgate latin, but in a later period from the languages in which they were written.

Having an idea of the tranſmiſſion of epiſcopal powers from the apoſtles, and ſuppoſing that the biſhops of the Waldenſes were regularly deſcended from the earlieſt times, they got their firſt biſhops ordained by them; having firſt choſen them by ſolemn prayer, and the caſting of lots. This was done at a ſynod held by them at Lhoten in A. D. 1467. In A. D. 1504 they preſented to Uladiſlas a confeſſion of their faith, in which they acknowledged the three creeds. When the king forbad their aſſemblies, and ordered them to join either the Catholics, or the Calixtins, they preſented another remonſtrance, explaining ſome of their principles, but without any effect.

In A. D. 1509 one Auguſtin drew up a letter in the king's name in anſwer to their remonſtrance, and to this they publiſhed a reply, in which they rejected the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, the adoration of the virgin Mary, and other ſaints, and purgatory

purgatory; ſeeming rather to approve of the opinion of the antients, of the juſt being purified by fire before the day of judgment, and that ſouls do not enter into happineſs till the reſurrection. They ſaid they would ſubmit to any mere external ordinances, if they could do it without ſin, ſuch as the obſervance of feſtivals, faſts, and other things of an indifferent nature; but not thoſe which encouraged idolatry, and ſuperſtition.

SECTION VI.

Of the Attempts to unite the Greek and Latin Churches.

ENDEAVOURS to promote the union of the Greek and Latin churches, make a conſiderable part of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of this period, as well as of ſeveral of the former. The Greek emperors, being in general leſs attached to the religion, and ſtanding in great need of the aſſiſtance of the chriſtians of the Weſt, in their wars with the Mahometan powers, frequently wiſhed for ſuch an union; and the popes, tho' having little concern for the intereſt of religion, were deſirous

ſirous of extending their authority over the whole chriſtian world. But they being unwilling to give up any article of what was called the catholic faith, and the Greeks in general being as obſtinate on their ſide, every attempt to reconcile them, however promiſing in the negotiations of a few, always miſcarried when a general conſent became neceſſary.

Manuel Paleologus II, as well as the patriarch Euthymius, ſeem to have had no objection to re-receive the catholic faith, and his ſucceſſor Joſeph, who had been the metropolitan of Epheſus, having the ſame diſpoſition, he applied to Martin V for leave to marry one of his ſons to a catholic princeſs. To this no objection was made, and in A. D. 1419, John the oldeſt of his ſons, was married to Sophia, the daughter of the marquis of Montferrat, and was aſſociated with his father in the empire. In order to obtain the aſſiſtance of the Latins, theſe two emperors reſumed the project of the union of the two churches, and propoſed to carry it into execution, in a council to be held at Conſtantinople for that purpoſe. The pope, entering into their views, ſent legates to make preparation for it, and promiſed to ſend the aſſiſtance they had applied for.

But the cardinal of St. Angelo being ſent in A. D. 1420 to Conſtantinople, on this buſineſs, inſiſted

ſiſted upon the Greeks accepting the intire creed of the church of Rome; and as the emperor and his prelates would only ſay that they would be determined in this reſpect by the reſult of the council, which the ſtate of their affairs would not permit being called immediately, all further proceedings in the buſineſs were at that time diſcontinued. But much farther progreſs was made in the ſucceeding reign of John Paleologus.

This emperor being preſſed by the Turks, and getting no aſſiſtance from the emperor Sigiſmond, applied to Martin V in A. D. 1430, who recommended the council of Baſil, which was ſummoned for the year following, inſtead of that which had been propoſed at Conſtantinople; promiſing to defray the expences of the Greeks who ſhould attend it; and to this the Greek emperor, not being able to do better, conſented. But the death of the pope threw difficulties in the way of the ſcheme. His ſucceſſor, Eugenius, not having the ſame friendly diſpoſition, and the Greeks in general diſcovering a great averſion to the union, the Greek ambaſſadors returned to Conſtantinople. The treaty was, however, renewed, and the Greeks ſending ambaſſadors to Baſil, they were received with much honour. But deputies being ſent by the council in return, found the Greeks but ill diſpoſed to the union, and particularly offended at a decree of the council, in which mention was made of the *antient hereſy of*

the Greeks. After much difficulty, the Greeks conſented that the council ſhould be held in ſome ſeaport of Italy, tho' they had conſented to meet at Baſil, the pope having thwarted the negociation of the council, which he thought took too much upon it in the buſineſs.

Ambaſſadors both from the pope and the council were ſent to Conſtantinople at the ſame time, and gallies to take the charge of the Greeks. But thoſe of the pope arriving the firſt, the emperor and his ſuite choſe to embark in them. Beſides the emperor himſelf, there was Dermetrius one of his brothers, the patriarch of Conſtantinople, metropolitans, biſhops, abbots, in all ſeven hundred perſons, with powers from the patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jeruſalem. They arrived at Venice the 8th of February A. D. 1438, and thence proceeded to Ferrara, where they were received by the pope with much ceremony.

Before any regular ſeſſions were held at this council of Ferrara, there were ſeveral congregations, in which the five following articles were diſcuſſed, viz. the proceſſion of the holy ſpirit, the addition of *filioque* to the creed, purgatory, and the ſtate of the dead before the day of judgment, the uſe of unleavened bread in the euchariſt, and the ſupremacy of the church of Rome. The ſeſſions were deferred ſix months becauſe the ambaſſadors

dors from the princes of Europe did not attend, being directed to continue at Baſil.

On the ſubject of purgatory, with which the private conferences began, the Greeks themſelves could not agree; and the firſt article that was regularly diſcuſſed was the addition to the creed, on which the ſpeeches were very long, the Greeks inſiſting on the impropriety of making any addition to it, and the Latins maintaining that what they had done was not by way of addition, but only of explanation. They, therefore, propoſed to diſcuſs the queſtion of the *proceſſion*, ſince, according as that was determined, the addition to the creed might be retained or rejected.

In this ſtate of things the council was transferred to Florence, where the debates were reſumed, and continued till the 5th of June, the emperor earneſtly wiſhing for an agreement, and a majority of the prelates being alſo inclined to it, but Mark of Epheſus ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it. At length, however, the following form of a confeſſion of faith was agreed on, "The holy ſpirit is eter-"nally from the Father and the Son, and from all "eternity proceeded from them both, as from one "ſole principle, and by one ſole production, call-"ed *ſpiration*; the Son having received from the "Father from all eternity that productive virtue,

"by which the holy ſpirit proceeds from the Son "as from the Father."

It was ſoon agreed that leavened or unleavened bread might be uſed in the euchariſt. They agreed alſo that there is a purgatory, and that it was indifferent in what the pains of it conſiſted, whether fire, or darkneſs, tempeſt, or any thing elſe. On the ſubject of the ſupremacy of the church of Rome there was more difficulty. At length, however, the Greeks acknowledged, that the biſhop of Rome was the ſovereign pontiff, and vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, who governs the church of God, ſaving the privileges and rights of the patriarchs of the Eaſt. Agreeably to this, a ſolemn act of union was drawn up, and ſigned the 6th of July A. D. 1439. The pope, however, did not give the Greeks leave to celebrate the euchariſt in public, leſt ſome of their rites ſhould be ſuch as he could not approve; and on the other hand they would not, at the requeſt of the pope, chooſe another patriarch, in the place of Joſeph, who died at Florence, to be confirmed by himſelf, but deferred the election till their return to Conſtantinople, which was the 1ſt of February A. D. 1440.

The reception of the emperor and his prelates, on their return from the council, was by no means ſuch as they wiſhed. The great body of the clergy regarding them with abhorrence, would

not

not admit thoſe of the clergy who had ſubſcribed to the union to any eccleſiaſtical functions. The The monks were more particularly irritated, and excited the people againſt them. Wherever they went they were inſulted as traitors to their religion, and apoſtates: and by way of reproach called *azymites*; while Marc of Epheſus was extolled to the skies, as the only defender of the true religion, and who alone had the courage to maintain the honor of the Greek church againſt the Latins. In this ſtate of things he had a great advantage in writing, as he and ſeveral others did, againſt the union; and tho' it was ably defended by Beſſarion and others, their writings had no effect on the people in general. Few would attend divine ſervice, even with the emperor himſelf, and in ſome churches his name was left out of the diptychs. Tho' one of the deputies who had ſubſcribed to the union was made patriarch, and the pope ſent a legate to Conſtantinople to act in concert with him, all they could do was of no avail; and the emperor himſelf, expecting little aſſiſtance from the Weſt, and dreading a revolt of his own ſubjects, became indifferent about enforcing the union, and of this the pope complained.

The Metrophanes, whom the emperor had made patriarch of Conſtantinople, favoured the union, and advanced the favourers of it to all the

eccleſiaſtical dignities that became vacant, great and general complaints were made of it. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jeruſalem, all publiſhed ſynodical letters, pronouncing ſentences of depoſition againſt thoſe whom he had ordained, and excommunicating them if they perſiſted in exerciſing their eccleſiaſtical functions. They alſo wrote to the emperor, threatening him with excommunication, if he protected Metrophanes, and adhered to the Latin church.

In Ruſsia the news of this union was as ill received as in Greece itſelf. There the legate Iſidore whom the pope ſent to announce it, was apprehended as a ſeducer, and apoſtate, who had had ſold them to the Latins. He found means, however, to eſcape out of priſon, before they proceeded any farther againſt him.

After the great defeat of the chriſtian powers at the battle of Varna, the Greek emperor, having no expectation of aſsiſtance from the Weſt, ſaid nothing more about the union of the two churches, or of his league with the Latins.

When the affairs of the Greeks wore an unpromiſing aſpect, by the near approach of the Turks to Conſtantinople, pope Nicolas addreſſed a letter to them; urging them to confirm the union of the churches, and in conſequence of this the emperor Conſtantine ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, requeſting

requeſting the pope to ſend ſome able perſons to aſſiſt in the reduction of the ſchiſmatics; when cardinal Iſidore, a Greek, was ſent, and was received by the emperor, and a ſmall number of prelates, December 12, A. D. 1451. But this meaſure only increaſed the obſtinacy of the Greeks in general; and when the cardinal performed maſs in the church of St. Sophia, the monk Gennadius, being applied to by the citizens who ran in a tumult to his cell, without going out of it affixed to his door a writing, in which he denounced the greateſt miſeries on thoſe who received what he called the impious decree of the union; on which prieſts, abbots, monks, nuns, ſoldiers, and citizens, in ſhort perſons of all deſcriptions, except a ſmall part of the ſenate, and thoſe about the court, particularly devoted to the emperor, began to cry out with one voice, "Anathema to thoſe who are united to the Latins." They would not ſo much as enter the church of St. Sophia, conſidering it as prophaned, and avoided all thoſe who had aſſiſted at the ſervice in it, as excommunicated perſons, refuſing them abſolution, or entrance into their churches.

Two years after this Conſtantinople was taken by Mahomet II; and Iſidore, who was in the city at the ſiege, was taken priſoner, but had the addreſs to make his eſcape. He was the ſame

perſon who had been ſent to Ruſſia to eſtabliſh the Latin ſervice there, and had been thrown into priſon as a ſchiſmatic.

Mahomet gave the chriſtians leave to chuſe their patriarchs, as they had done under their former emperors, retaining the power, which they had had, of confirming, that is, directing, their choice. By his order they choſe G. Scholarius, who had declared for the union of the churches, and the emperor afterwards paying him a viſit, requeſted him to explain to him the principles of the chriſtian religion, which it is ſaid that he did in ſo able a manner as greatly ſtruck him, and made him more favourable to the chriſtians than he had been before. This patriarch, not being able to engage the Greeks to embrace the union, quitted his preferment after he had held it five years, and retired to a monaſtery.

There was no abatement of the antipathy of the Greeks to the Latins in this period. In A. D. 1509, the patriarch of Conſtantinople excommunicated Arſenius, archbiſhop of Malvaſia in the Morea, which was then in the poſſeſſion of the Venetians, and all who had been ordained by him, becauſe he had ſubmitted to the church of Rome. Arſenius fled to Rome, and complained to the pope, who wrote to the Venetians on the ſubject, deſiring them to oblige the Greeks to make ſatisfaction

faction for the injury; but the Venetians were in danger in making the attempt.

On the ſame principle on which the apparent union of the Greek and Latin churches was brought about, ſeveral of the eaſtern ſectaries were induced to ſubmit to the ſee of Rome; but in all the caſes it was the act of a few, and had no effect with the great maſs of the people.

After the union of the Greek and Latin churches was determined upon at Florence, Conſtantine, patriarch of the Armenians, ſent letters to Modena, and four deputies, to whom the pope explained the articles of the catholic faith, and eſpecially the doctrine of the council of Chalcedon, and others which the Armenians had hitherto rejected, and all the ſeven ſacraments. All theſe they agreed to receive, and the decree of their union with the church of Rome paſſed the 22d of November, A. D. 1439.

In A. D. 1440 the Jacobites ſent deputies to Florence, and were united to the Roman church. Pope Eugenius addreſſed letters to their patriarch John, who apoligized for his own non attendance at the council, on account of his poverty and infirmities, but ſent a legate with power to agree to the union. Accordingly, he, in the name of his principal, accepted a long conſtitution, in which the pope defended the catholic faith, in oppoſition to the errors of the Eutychians. Complimentary letters

were

were alſo received from the king of Ethiopia; and Philotheus the patriarch of Alexandria, in praiſe of the union, but the whole ended in words.

In A. D. 1444 the chriſtians of Meſopotamia ſent Abdalla, the archbiſhop of Edeſſa, to Rome, to ſignify their acceptance of the catholic faith; and pope Eugenius aſſembling a council, as a continuation of that of Florence, paſſed a decree of the union of the Syrian Church with that of Rome.

The ſame year ſome Chaldeans or Neſtorians and Maronites ſent deputies to Rome, to acknowledge the catholic faith, and they were received in the ſame council. But this alſo had no effect in the Eaſt, where they continued as remote from the church of Rome as ever.

In A. D. 1460 Pius II received a deputation from the patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jeruſalem, promiſing obedience to the ſee of Rome, according the council of Florence, which they ſaid had been agreed to, in an aſſembly convoked for the purpoſe.

In A. D. 1496 Conſtantine, king of the Georgians, ſent a deputation to pope Alexander VI, acknowledging him to be the vicar of Chriſt, and to requeſt that he would oblige the catholic princes to join thoſe of the Eaſt againſt the Mahometans. He alſo deſired him to ſend him the decrees

of

of the council of Florence, which condemned the errors of the Greeks. The pope received the deputies with much joy, and promiſed every thing in his power.

Before this, viz. in A. D. 1478, the queen of Boſnia dying, left her dominions to the ſee of Rome, with a reverſion to her ſon, if he ſhould abandon the Turkiſh intereſt and Mahomitaniſm, and return into the boſom of the church.

SECTION VII.

Of Various Opinions advanced in this Period.

THE preſent period abounded with men who thought with great freedom and acuteneſs, on many ſubjects of theology and church government, the effects of which would have been very conſpicuous, if it had not been for the omnipotent authority of the church of Rome, which, wherever it interfered, as it did in all caſes in which its intereſt was the moſt remotely concerned, ſuppreſſed every thing that threatened innovation. In the account of the more remarkable opi-

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nions that were advanced in this period, I ſhall begin with thoſe that more particularly affected, or threatened to affect, the court of Rome; and the more fundamental doctrines of the church.

In A. D. 1479 the following propoſitions of Peter de Oſma, profeſſor of theology at Salamanca, were condemned by the archbiſhop of Toledo, after an examination before many doctors; and the condemnation was confirmed by pope Sixtus IV. "Mortal ſins may be effaced by contrition "only, without the authority of the church. Pri- "vate confeſſion is not of divine right, but found- "ed on the orders of the church. The pope can- "not remit the pains of purgatory. The church "of Rome may err in its deciſions. The pope "cannot diſpenſe with the orders of the univerſal church." It was remarked that theſe propoſitions were condemned by the pope without particular ſpecification, in order, as it was expreſſed in the bull, that thoſe who knew them might forget them, and thoſe who were ignorant of them might not learn any thing new. This mode of condemnation indicates an apprehenſion of ſuch doctrines as theſe recommending themſelves to thoſe who ſhould hear of them; but it would certainly excite the curoſity of many to know what the unnamed propoſitions were.

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The ſame year ſome ſimilar propoſitions of John of Weſalia, a doctor of theology, and a preacher at Worms were condemned by the inquiſition. "He "denied that biſhops had the power of making laws "He maintained that indulgences are of no value, and "that the elect will be ſaved tho' all the prieſts ſhould "condemn them. Jeſus Chriſt, he ſaid, appointed nei- "ther faſts nor feſtivals, and did not forbid the uſe of "any kind of meat, on any day; holy oil does not "differ from common oil; they who go on pilgri- "mages to Rome are mad." Some of his propoſitions have an humourous turn, as this, "If St. "Peter did appoint any faſt, it was only that he "might have a better ſale for his fiſhes."

The archbiſhop of Mentz wrote to the univerſity of Heidelberg and Cologne, to deſire that they would examine theſe propoſitions; and ſeveral aſſemblies were held on the ſubject. John was publicly interrogated, and after ſeveral ſubſequent ſittings obliged to retract what he had advanced. For ſome time, however, he refuſed to do it. His examiners were blamed by many perſons, as having proceeded with too much warmth in the buſineſs, eſpecially as it was ſaid that ſome of the propoſitions might have been ſupported, if they had been properly explained.

In A. D. 1485 John Laillier, a licentiate in theology at Paris, advanced the following propoſi-

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tions. "St. Peter did not receive from Chriſt "more power than the other apoſtles. All thoſe "who compoſe the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy have "received equal power from Chriſt, even the curés. "The ſovereign pontiff cannot remit all the pains "due to ſinners by virtue of his indulgences. Con-"feſſion is not of divine right. The decrees and "decretals of the popes are a mockery. The "church of Rome is not the chief of other church-"es." He alſo advanced other propoſitions contrary to the authority of the church, in favour of the marriage of prieſts, againſt the canonizing of ſaints, faſting in Eaſter, &c. which were cenſured in a faculty of theology, June 5, A. D. 1486.

Being refuſed the degree of doctor, he appealed to the biſhop of Paris, and preſented an explanation of ſome of his propoſitions, which he ſaid were not ſo ſtrong as ſome that had been advanced by Gerſon. In conſequence of theſe cenſures, he was obliged publicly to retract his propoſitions; and on this he was abſolved from the excommunication which had been pronounced againſt him, and reſtored to the power of obtaining the honours of the univerſity. The faculty, however, would not give him the degree of *doctor*. The court of Rome was not a little alarmed on this occaſion. Innocent VIII publiſhed two bulls, approving of the condemnation of Laillier, forbidding him to preach,

preach, making him incapable of the degree of doctor, and even ordering him to be put in prison.

Conſiderable alarm was given to the church by the ſingular and bold opinions of John Picus prince of Mirandola; who at a very early age diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his genius and writings. In A. D. 1486, being at Rome, he propoſed ſeveral theſes reſpecting ſubjects in theology, mathematics, magic, the Cabaliſtic art, and natural philoſophy, which were thought not a little extraordinary, and ſeveral of them were ſaid to be heretical. He publiſhed a defence of them; but the pope forbad the reading of his theſes under pain of excommunication, and cited Picus to appear before him. However nothing farther was then done in the buſineſs.

Among his propoſitions were the following. "Jeſus Chriſt did not deſcend into hell in "reality, but only in effect. Infinite puniſhment "is not due, even to mortal ſin, which is only finite. "Neither croſſes nor images are to be adored with "the adoration of *latria*, even in the ſenſe of "Thomas Aquinas. God cannot be united hy-"poſtatically to any but a reaſonable creature. "There is more reaſon to believe that Origen "was ſaved, then that he was damned!" The other propoſitions were more properly of a metaphyſical nature, and ſo were his explanations of

theſe. Having made his ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee, he was abſolved by Alexander VI in A. D. 1493; when his innocence, and the purity of his ſentiments, were acknowledged. After this he gave all his time to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, the controverſy with the Jews and Mahometans, and writing againſt judicial aſtrology. That he might give himſelf wholly to his ſtudies, he renounced the ſovereignty of Mirandola and gave all that he had to the poor. He died at Florence in D. D. 1494, at the age of thirty three, putting on before he expired, the habit of the Dominicans, for whom he had a great regard.

A friend of Picus, Jerome de Savonarola, excited more attention than he did; and the conſequences of his opinions and conduct were much more ſerious. He was a Dominican, and in A. D. 1492 began to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his preaching but much more by his prophecies. Picus of Mirandola brought him to Florence, where he publiſhed explanations of the book of Revelation, and foretold that the church would be renewed, after a great ſcourge which would fall upon it. He was vehement in his declamations againſt the clergy and the court of Rome, which ſoon made him many enemies.

But in A. D. 1478, after having been idolized by the people of Florence, as a prophet, and even directing

directing their public meaſures, eſpecially in defending their liberties againſt all attacks upon them, he incurred their indignation by favouring, as it was ſuppoſed, the execution of ſome of the party of Peter of Medicis, in the night, than which nothing could be more oppoſite to public liberty, and even to a law which he himſelf promoted a ſhort time before. Alſo Lewis Sforza, jealous of his great influence, employed ſome monks to decry him, and did him ill offices with the pope, who was already ſufficiently irritated againſt him, on account of his free cenſures of the court of Rome, and his writing to the emperor and the kings of France, Spain, Portugal and England, to engage them to demand the convocation of a council, for the reformation of the church, in its head and members.

The pope, therefore, ſummoned him to appear before him. But not chuſing to put himſelf into the power of his enemies, he contented himſelf with writing an apology for his conduct; and being forbidden to preach, he employd another perſon, who in his ſermons ſpoke in his favour. On this Alexander excommunicated him as a heretic. This proceeding, however, he ſhewed to be null, and inſtead of being ſilenced by it, he in A. D. 1498 reſumed his functions, on which the pope excommunicated him again; and the people of Florence, wanting at that time the pope's intereſt

for the reſtitution of Piſa, obliged him to refrain from preaching. But the Dominican, whom Savanorola had employed to preach in his place, was ſo far from being intimidated by this, that he propoſed to prove the truth of his doctrines, and the holineſs of his character, by paſſing through the fire. A Franciſcan accepted his challenge, and offered to go through the fire along with him, to prove the contrary. But when every thing was ready for the trial, and the people were aſſembled to ſee the iſſue, the Dominican inſiſted upon taking the hoſt with him; and this not being permitted, nothing farther was done.

Savanorola being now unpopular among the citizens, was attacked in a church in which he had taken refuge; and being obliged to leave it, and appear before the magiſtrates, he was aſked whether the revelations to which he pretended were real; and when he declared that they were, tho' on leaving his aſylum, they had promiſed to ſend him to his monaſtery, they ordered him to priſon, and appointed commiſſaries from among his enemies to examine him. They did it by torture, and in a particularly cruel manner, tho' commonly practiſed in the inquiſition, viz. [by tying his hands behind him, then drawing him up by a cord faſtened to them, letting him fall with his whole weight, and checking him before he got

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to the ground; by which means his arms were diſlocated. Not content with this, they applied hot coals to his bare feet, and inſulted him in the groſſeſt manner. All this, however, he bore with wonderful conſtancy, and as ſoon as he was in a condition to do it, he fell upon his knees, and prayed for his executioners.

The pope hearing that he was in cuſtody, deſired that he might be ſent to Rome; but this not being approved of, he ſent two judges, who, tho', they could get no confeſſion from him, even by a ſecond torture, condemned him to die, along with two others. When they were degraded before their execution, the biſhop who performed the ceremony, ſaid to Jerome in the courſe of it, "I ſe-"parate thee from the church triumphant," he replied, "Thou mayeſt ſeparate me from the "church militant, but not from the church trium-"phant;" and to the laſt he perſiſted in declaring that every thing he had foretold would certainly come to paſs. After this they were all hanged, their bodies burned, and their aſhes thrown into the river. This was the 23d of May A. D. 1498. A life and defence of Savanorola was written by John Francis Picus of Mirandola, nephew of the celebrated John Picus, who maintained that the pope had been deceived by the enemies of Savano-

rola. Hie letters, which I have lately peruſed with much ſatisfaction, are certainly thoſe of a man of real piety. The writer of theſe letters might be deceived, but I cannot think him an impoſtor, who would endeavour to deceive others.

In the ſame year in which Savanorola died, Peter D'Aranda, biſhop of Calahorra, aud maſter of the ſacred palace, was degraded, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment in the caſtle of St. Angelo at Rome, on being convicted, as it was ſaid, of judaiſm. He was ſaid to have taught that the Jewiſh religion had one principle, but the chriſtian three. In his prayers he ſaid *glory to the Father*, without adding to the Son or the Holy Spirit. He ſaid that indulgences were of no avail, but were invented for the ſake of the profit that was drawn from them, that there was neither hell nor purgatory, but only paradiſe. He obſerved no faſt, and ſaid maſs after dinner. From his ſaying maſs, or receiving the Lord's ſupper, it is evident he was not a Jew, but probably an unitarian chriſtian.

About twenty years before the reformation, a phyſician of Bologna, named Gabriel de Salodio, denied the divinity of Chriſt, and moreover affirmed that he was conceived and born as other men are; and yet the citizens would not ſuffer the inquiſitors to puniſh him. *Robinſon*, p. 444.

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John Reuchlin, a learned German, eminent for his ſkill in the Greek and Hebrew languages, and who contributed much to the reſtoration of literature, and eventually to the reformation in Europe, made himſelf many enemies by his favouring the Jews. A Jew of the name of Pfeffercorn, becoming a chriſtian, perſuaded Hochſtrat, a Dominican inquiſitor in Germany, and Arnaud de Tongres, profeſſor of divinity at Cologne, that all the books of the Jews ought to be burned, as full of impiety and blaſphemy; and they eaſily procured an order from the emperor Maximilian for the purpoſe. The Jews, however, having ſome intereſt at the imperial court, procured an order to the univerſity of Cologne, and others, to give their opinions jointly with Reuchlin, who was then with Eberhard, count of Wirtemberg, Victor of Corbie, and James Hockſtrat. Reuchlin ſaid that the Jewiſh books on indifferent ſubjects ought to be ſpared, and that only thoſe that were written againſt chriſtianity ſhould be deſtroyed.

On this Pfeffercorn wrote againſt that opinion, and Reuchlin in defence of it. But the theologians of Cologn, examining the work of Reuchlin, found in it forty five propoſitions, which they ſaid were erroneous and heretical. Reuchlin anſwered their charges, in an apology addreſſed to the emperor, on which he was cited before the inquiſi-

tor Hochſtrat, in the preſence of the elector of Mayence; when, notwithſtanding Reuchlin's appeal to the court of Rome, the inquiſitor forbad the reading of his book. It was alſo ordered to be burned by the univerſity of Paris. This encouraged Pfeffercorn to write again in anſwer to Reuchlin, who again appealed to Rome. All the learned in Europe took his part, and the pope, having appointed commiſſaries to examine the buſineſs, the Dominican was in the iſſue obliged to pay the expence of the cauſe, and abſolve him from his excommunication.

There were ſome other controverſies within this period, which, tho' of trifling conſequence in themſelves, may deſerve to be juſt noticed in this ſection. At the council of Baſil in A. D. 1435, the opinions of Auguſtin de Roma were condemned. He attributed to the human nature of Chriſt what belonged to the divine nature, and alſo aſcribed to Chriſt himſelf what belonged to chriſtians, on account of their union with him; ſaying that Chriſt ſinned every day, meaning his members, which with himſelf make but one perſon.

In A. D. 1462 there was a warm diſpute between the Franciſcans and Dominicans on the ſubject of that blood of Chriſt, which was ſeparated from his body before his burial, viz. whether it was ſeparated from his divinity, ſo as not to be

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intitled to adoration; the Franciſcans maintaining that it ought to be adored, and the Dominicans the contrary. Pius II ſummoned the ableſt theologians on both ſides to diſpute before him, which they did with ſo much warmth that they ſweated profuſely. The pope not chuſing to offend either of the parties, made no deciſion on the ſubject; but forbad any more diſputing about it. This pope had himſelf maintained that it was not contrary to religion to aſſert that ſome of the blood of Chriſt remained on the earth. The univerſity of Paris alſo had come to a ſimilar deciſion in the year A. D. 1408.

In A. D. 1470 it was maintained by Peter de Reve, in the univerſity of Louvain, that propoſitions relating to any future event, as that there will be a reſurrection of the dead, cannot be aſſerted without a belief in the doctrine of fate or neceſſity; and an appeal was made to the univerſity of Paris, which aſſerted that this was a falſe conſequence. The divines of Louvain, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, appealed to the pope, and on that occaſion the cardinal Peter *aux liens*, afterwards himſelf pope, under the name of Sixtus IV, wrote a treatiſe on the ſubject of future contingencies; but all the propoſitions of Peter de Reve, twenty five in number, were condemned.

The doctrine of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary was firſt advanced as an innocent, and then a probable opinion; and it is curious to obſerve how this, as other opinions in favour of the dignity of Mary, gained more and more credit, till it became hazardous to call it in queſtion.

At the council of Baſil, in A. D. 1438, this doctrine was decreed to be a pious opinion, agreeable to the catholic faith, and it was ordered that no perſon ſhould preach againſt it, and that the feſtival of the conception ſhould be celebrated the 8th of December. In a council held at Avignon in A. D. 1457, theſe decrees of the council of Baſil were confirmed, all perſons were forbidden under pain of excommunication to preach the contrary doctrine, and the clergy were ordered to announce it to the people, that no perſon might pretend ignorance of it.

Notwithſtanding theſe deciſions, the Dominicans were always diſpoſed to deny this doctrine; but it was enforced by the univerſity of Paris, which in theſe times was generally the umpire in theological controverſies, as well as by papal authority. Upon occaſion of a diſpute between the Dominicans and Franciſcans on this ſubject in A. D. 1483, pope Sixtus IV publiſhed a bull, in which he declared that they who ſaid it was hereſy

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to preach that doctrine were excommunicated, and if any perſon preached or taught contrary to that decree, he incurred the indignation of God, and of the apoſtles Peter and Paul.

All perſons however, were not ſilenced. For in A. D. 1493, a Franciſcan having maintained that the virgin Mary was conceived in original ſin, after preaching this doctrine, was cited before the univerſity of Paris, and obliged to retract it. And in A. D. 1497 the faculty of Paris, after deliberating on the ſubject in three aſſemblies, reſolved that the bleſſed virgin was preſerved by a ſingular gift from the ſtain of original ſin. They farther thought the queſtion of ſo much importance, that they engaged by oath not to admit any perſon into their body who ſhould maintain the contrary doctrine.

This ſame year they obliged John Mercelle, a Dominican, to retract ſome propoſitions which he advanced, as they thought, derogatory to the honour of the virgin. For their curoſity I ſhall recite them. "God can produce a mere creature in "greater glory than the holy virgin by his abſolute "power, tho' he cannot according to his ordinary "power. It is a problem whether the virgin "Mary was, as to her body, more handſome than "Eve. It is apocryphal to ſay, that Jeſus Chriſt "went before the virgin Mary in his aſſumption.

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"We are not obliged to believe under pain of mor-
"tal ſin, that the holy virgin was taken up to heaven
"in body and ſoul, becauſe it is not an article of
"faith." All theſe propoſitions were declared to be calculated to leſſen the devotion of the people towards the bleſſed virgin, and moſt of them were denominated falſe, ſcandalous, impious, or offenſive to pious ears, &c. &c. &c.

SECTION VIII.

Of the Clergy and the Monks.

THE ſtate of the clergy in this period did not materially differ from that in the preceding; for tho' ſome reforms were made, or rather directed to be made, reſpecting them, it does not appear that they were much improved by them.

At the council of Baſil, in A. D. 1437, all prieſts who publickly kept concubines, were ordered to be deprived of their livings, and the biſhops were directed to take pains to expel all concubines, and ſuſpected women, from their dioceſes. It was obſerved that ſome of the ſuperior clergy not only tolerated this evil, but derived advantage, from

from taxing it. At the ſame council it was ordered, that there ſhould be a theologian in every cathedral church, that a doctor or bachelor in theology who had ſtudied ten years in ſome privileged univerſity, ſhould give lectures twice a week, and that a third part of the prebends ſhould be given to doctors licentiates, or bachelors, in ſome faculty.

It is evident from theſe proviſions, that the great body of the clergy were very ignorant; but we have the moſt direct evidence of this with reſpect to Spain. So great was their ignorance, that hardly any of the Spaniſh clergy underſtood latin. Self indulgence of every kind was their great purſuit; concubinage was almoſt public among them; and the leaſt of their diſorders was carrying arms, and going to the wars. Nothing was more common than buying and ſelling benefices. It was done without ſcruple.

In order to remedy theſe evils in ſome meaſure, it was ordered in an extraordinary council held by cardinal Borgia, afterwards pope Alexander VI, held at Madrid in A. D. 1473, that in every cathedral church there ſhould be one canonry held by a theologian, and another by a lawyer, and a canoniſt choſen by the biſhop and the chapter jointly. The archbiſhop of Toledo, the celebrated Ximines alſo held a council the ſame year, in which it was ordered, that no living ſhould be given but to thoſe who underſtood

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latin, and that the clergy ſhould not ſerve as ſoldiers, nor ſend any to ſerve for them, except to the king's armies. Other decrees were made againſt concubinage, ſimony, and gaming, among prieſts, and alſo againſt ſhows exhibited in churches. *Fleury*, Vol. 23, p. 369.

In A. D. 1498 the ſame archbiſhop held a ſynod at Alcala, in which it was ordered, that every ſunday, and on all the feſtivals, the curés ſhould, after high maſs, explain the goſpel to the people in a familiar and ſolid manner; and that in the evening they ſhould aſſemble their pariſhioners, and eſpecially the children, and teach them the chriſtian doctrine. To make this buſineſs eaſier to them, he procured catechiſms, and other books of inſtruction, to be drawn up, which were afterwards of great uſe.

At the council of Lateran in A. D. 1514, many excellent decrees were made for the reformation of the clergy, reſpecting their age and qualifications, the ſuppreſſion of Commendams pluralities, the behaviour of the cardinals, and the officers of the court of Rome; but the hiſtorian ſays, they only reſpected the clergy of the city of Rome, and did not in any meaſure remove the complaints of France and Germany.

In this ſame council ſome excellent rules were laid down reſpecting preaching, which before this

this time appears to have been very low and unedifying. "Whereas," ſays this bull, "many perſons in preaching do not teach the way of the "Lord, or explain the goſpel, but rather ſpeak by "way of oſtentation, accompany what they ſay "with violent geſticulations, ſpeak loud, and publiſh feigned miracles, apocryphal and ſcandalous "ſtories, of no authority, and not tending to "edification, we order, under pain of excommunication, that from this time, no clergyman, ſecular or regular, be admitted to preach, "whatever privilege he pretends to have, before an account has been taken of his morals, "his age, doctrine, prudence, and probity, and "till evidence has been given of his living an exemplary life; and that the preachers explain in "their ſermons the truth of the goſpel, according "to the ſentiments of the holy Fathers, that their "diſcourſes abound with quotations from the ſcriptures, that they endeavour to inſpire a horror of "vice, and a love of virtue and charity to their "neighbours."

One great abuſe, however, had its origin in this period. In A. D. 1473, Sixtus IV, tho, with much reluctance, at the requeſt of Ferdinand king of Spain, granted the biſhopric of Saragoſſa in perpetual commendam to his baſtard ſon Alphonſo, then only ſix years old, by which, ſaid the cardinal

cardinal of Pavia, he introduced a new example, of which popes and kings have taken great advantage ſince that time.

There was as little change in the ſtate of the *monks*, as in that of the clergy of this period. The military orders, who were the neareſt to the ſecular character, lived, as might be expected, like other ſecular perſons, with as little regard to religion or morality; and the Teutonic knights were noted for their violences and diſorders. In A. D. 1429 Goſwin of Archenberg ſeized ſixteen deputies, ſent from the council of Riga to Rome, and conſidering them as traitors, cauſed them to be drowned; which increaſed the odium under which that order lay, as the enemies, and not the friends, of religion.

As the military orders had expenſive as well as hazardous ſervices to perform, their revenues in an age of religion and chivalry, were proportionally liberal; but when their ſervices were leſs wanted, thoſe large revenues became an object of deſire to the temporal ſovereigns. In A. D. 1488 Ferdinand king of Spain was by the pope made great maſter of the orders of Calatrava, St James, and Alcantara, the revenues of each of them being not leſs than an hundred thouſand ducats; and it was the more natural for the king to take them himſelf, as

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the grandees of the kingdom had been guilty of great diſorders to get them into their hands.

The mendicant orders were ſtill more favoured by the common people than the monks, and indeed ſome individuals of theſe orders were intitled to the higheſt reſpect, on account of their genuine ardour in the cauſe of religion. The caſe of Savanarola has been mentioned before. In A. D. 1418 another Dominican, called Manfred of Verceil, announced the near approach of Antichriſt; and by that means drew a great number of men and women to engage in his order, living by the labour of their hands, the men ſeparate from the women, and reciting the divine offices with great devotion. The pope apprehending ſome miſchief from theſe ſocieties, aboliſhed them; but in this he could not ſucceed entirely, on account of the great regard the people had for Manfred.

The mendicants were always at variance with the ſecular prieſts about the privilege of confeſſion, which was a ſource of great emolument to them. Nicolas V had favoured them, giving them liberty to confeſs perſons at Eaſter, which was deemed to be contrary to the rights of the clergy, eſtabliſhed by the canons. The univerſity of Paris took the part of the clergy in this buſineſs, and becauſe the mendicant profeſſors would not join in a petition for the revocation of that pope's bull, they exclu-

ded them from their body. On an application to pope Celeſtine III, he confirmed the bull of Nicolas, and cancelled the orders of the univerſity. But the members of the univerſity expreſſed ſo much reſentment at this conduct of the pope, that he thought proper to revoke his bull, and the mendicants made their ſubmiſſion, and promiſed not to ſolicit for any more bulls in their favour. The general of the order, however, encouraged a ſecond oppoſition, but the univerſity again brought them to ſubmiſſion. Theſe diſputes, were, however frequently revived.

On occaſion of a difference between the mendicants and the Pariſh prieſts in Germany, Sixtus IV decided in favour of the prieſts; forbidding the former to preach againſt the will of the latter, during the pariſh maſſes, on feſtivals, or ſundays; but directing them to teach the people that they were not obliged to confeſs to their pariſh prieſts, except at Eaſter.

The two orders of mendicants were no more diſpoſed to agreement than they both were with the monks, or the ſecular clergy. In A. D. 1483 there was a warm diſpute between the Dominicans and Franciſcans; the latter maintaining that the honour of the ſtigmates was peculiar to St. Francis; whereas the latter aſſerted that Catherine of Sienna had the ſame honour. Pope Sixtus IV, who had

had been a Franciſcan, decided in their favour and forbad the painting of the image of Catherine with ſtigmates. Afterwards, however, he thought proper to ſoften his decree and withdraw his cenſures.

In A. D 1486 John Marchand, a Franciſcan preacher at Beſanſon, advanced ſeveral ſtrange propoſitions concerning the prerogatives of St. Francis, which were condemned by the faculty of theology at Paris, but which deſerve to be mentioned as curioſities of the kind. "St. Francis," he ſaid, "was the only perſon who was found, "worthy to be advanced to that place in heaven "from which Lucifer fell, and it was given to him "on account of his ſuperior humility. St. Fran"cis reſembles Chriſt in forty reſpects, among "which are the following. He is a ſecond Chriſt, "or ſecond ſon of God, his conception was fore"told by an angel, and he was born in a ſtable, be"tween an ox and an aſs. When he received the "ſtigmates (concerning which he aſſerted many "ridiculous particulars) the rocks were rent; they "began to be imprinted early in the morning, and "the operation continued till three in the afternoon, "the time on which Chriſt expired. St. Francis "obtained of God the privilege of deſcending eve"ry year on the day of his feſtival into purgatory,

"and then he carried away with him all the men "and women of his order into heaven."

Lewis XI of France, tho' ridiculouſly ſuperſtitious, yet from policy and avarice, forbad all abbots, priors and monks, to attend the chapters of their order out of the kingdom, under pain of baniſhment, and other heavy puniſhments.

This period, as well as the preceding, furniſhes ſome examples of perſons of diſtinction ſhewing their reſpect for the monaſtic life, by adopting it, or the ſymbols of it, before their death. The moſt remarkable inſtance of this kind in Europe is that of Victor Armadœus, duke of Savoy, who in A. D. 1434 quitted his ſovereignty and retired to Ripailles, near the lake of Geneva, where he founded the order of St. Maurice. He was afterwards, as we have ſeen, elected pope by the council of Baſil, when he took the name of Felix V.

In the Eaſt Manuel Paleologus the Greek emperor put on the dreſs of a monk two years before he died, leaving the adminiſtration to his ſon John.

So much account is made of the monkiſh character in the Eaſt, that when, in A. D. 1474, Manuel was choſen patriarch of Conſtantinople, he was made a monk, according, as it was ſaid, to the univerſal cuſtom of the Greeks with reſpect to all biſhops. On this occaſion he preſented Mahomet

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the Turkiſh emperor with five hundred crowns of gold, beſides paying him two thouſand every year as a tribute.

The Fratricelli, or *Minorites*, continued, tho' in a ſtate of perſecution, through the whole of this period, their chief places of reſort being the march of Ancona in Italy, the ſouth of France, and Bohemia. They were vehemently perſecuted by Nicolas V, but eſpecially by Paul II. All that remained of them embraced the reformation by Luther. *Moſheim*, Vol. 2. p. 251.

A new ſect of *Flagellants* appeared in this period in Germany, and eſpecially in Lower Saxony. They are ſaid to have placed their hope of ſalvation in faith and flagellation, to which they added ſome peculiar opinions concerning the Holy Spirit, and other ſubjects. They were headed by Conrad Schmidt who was apprehended and burned alive in A. D. 1414 by Henry Schonfield, an inquiſitor in Germany, a man famous for his zeal in the extirpation of hereſy. Ib. Vol. 3. p. 278.

The *Cellite brethren*, who were at Antwerp, had their name from living in cells, *Alexians*, from Alexius their tutelary ſaint, and *Lollards* (which was then a term of reproach) from their ſinging at funerals. They attended the ſick and

buried the dead, who in a time of peſtilence were much neglected by the clergy. *Moſheim*, Vol 3. p. 184.

The ſect that was called *men of underſtanding*, aroſe in this period at Bruſſels. At the head of them were Ægidius Cantor, and William Heldeniſſen, a Carmelite monk. They held many of the tenets of the myſtics, denied the power of abſolution in the prieſts, and that mortification was neceſſary to ſalvation. Their doctrine was condemned by Peter D'Ailli archbiſhop of Cambray, who compelled William Hildeniſſen to abjure them. Ib. Vol. 3. p. 277.

In this period was inſtituted the order of the *Hermits of St. Francis*, called afterwards that of the *Minims*, founded by Francis de Paola, a ſimple and illiterate man, who led the life of a hermit in Calabria, abſtaining from almoſt every article of the common food of man. So famous was he on this account, that he was uſually called the *holy man of Calabria*. Sixtus IV was ſo much pleaſed with him, that he authorized him to inſtitute a new order. Lewis XI of France ſent for him in his laſt illneſs, and he ſurprized all his court with the pertinency of his anſwers to the queſtions that were put to him. After this he reſided at Tours in France, and in a ſhort time many monaſteries

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of his order were built in that neighbourhood, and they afterwards ſpread over all parts of Europe. *Giannone*, Vol. 2, p. 492.

SECTION IX.

The Hiſtory of Jetzer at Bern.

MANY of the ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome were ſupported by pretended miracles, and eſpecially thoſe of the apparitions of dead perſons; and as every thing of this kind fell under much ſuſpicion by the detection of one of them at Bern, in Switzerland, a ſhort time before the reformation, and is conſidered by many as having contributed to prepare the way for it, I ſhall for this reaſon give a more detailed account of it than it would otherwiſe have been entitled to. I abridge it from *Ruchat's Hiſtory of the Reformation in Switzerland*. His authorities are taken from the public acts of the State of Berne, copied by Stettler in his hiſtory, of whoſe fidelity Mr. Ruchat ſpeaks in the higheſt terms.

The two orders of Dominicans and Franciſcans had been a long time divided on the ſubject of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary; the

former denying that doctrine, and the latter maintaining it. The Franciſcans, ſupported by the principal univerſities, were perpetually inſulting the Dominicans with their incredulity on this ſubject, and eſpecially in their ſermons addreſſed to the common people. This irritated them ſo much that, at a general chapter of their order held at Wimpfen in Germany in A. D. 1506, at the lodgings of Werner de Selden prior of the Dominicans at Baſil and vicar in Upper Germany, it was obſerved that, as the Franciſcans ſupported their doctrine by falſe miracles, it was neceſſary for them to ſupport theirs in the ſame way; and at length it was determined to make Bern the ſcene of their operations, on account of the inhabitants of that city being a plain ſimple people, and therefore more eaſily impoſed upon.

It happened conveniently for their purpoſe that a ſtupid young man of the name of *John Jetzer*, a taylor of Zurzach, applied at that time for admiſſion into the order at Bern; and in 1507 he was received. Soon after his entrance into the monaſtery, and before he had made his profeſſional vows, they began to affright him with apparitions in the night, and eſpecially with one of a pretended old Dominican, who ſaid that he was ſuffering for his ſins. Terrified with this apparition, Jetzer would have quitted the order, but, though with

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ſome difficulty, he was perſuaded to continue in it, and at his own requeſt another apartment was aſſigned him in a remote part of the houſe, and more convenient for the uſe that was to be made of it; and four perſons undertook to conduct the buſineſs. Theſe were John Fetter of Marpach the prior, Dr. Stephen Boultzhorſt the reader, Francis Utſchi of Bern the ſubprior, and Henry Steinegher the ſteward.

Accordingly the ſub-prior, on the eve of the three kings in A. D. 1507, appeared like a ſpirit, followed by a company of devils in the form of dogs during ſeveral nights; and in one of them he entered the chamber of Jetzer, who calling for help, the ſteward and the cook, who were alſo in the ſecret, encouraged him, and adviſed him how to proceed in future.

On the 7th of March the ſpirit appeared again in a more frightful form than before, extinguiſhing his candle and throwing down the holy water, with which he had been provided. And when Jetzer, as he had been taught, ſaid "the Lord have "mercy upon thee, and deliver thee," he replied, "Thou and thy brethren can deliver me, and I "will come again in eight days." After that interval he appeared again, and after much conjuration, ſaid that he had been prior of that monaſtery one hundred and ſixty years before, and for ſome

crime which he had committed had been tormented in purgatory ever ſince. He then told him what himſelf and the brethren ſhould do for his deliverance. Among other things Jetzer was to diſcipline himſelf till the blood flowed from him, and to lie upon his face in the form of a croſs &c. &c. Before the ſpirit took his leave, he with the conſent of Jetzer, took him by the hand, that he might give him an idea of the torments he endured; and what he did to him gave him ſo much pain in his middle finger that the nail came off.

After eight days more the ſpirit appeared again but without any thing terrifying in his appearance, to tell him what was ſtill neceſſary to compleat his deliverance. This being complied with, after eight days more he appeared in a ſacerdotal habit, and with a chearful countenance; and in diſcourſing with him ſaid that ſeveral perſons were in hell, and others in purgatory, for aſſerting the immaculate conception of the virgin, and eſpecially J. Scotus, who firſt advanced that doctrine; that St. Barbara and the Virgin Mary herſelf would ſoon appear to him, and that he muſt prepare himſelf by faſting and prayer for ſo great an honour. When Jetzer informed the brethren of this, they gave him ſeveral queſtions to propoſe to the virgin, the principal of which related to the doctrine of the immaculate conception.

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In the night between the 10th and 11th of April his room was entered by a perſon dreſſed in white, who ſaid ſhe was St. Barbara, the ſervant of the virgin; and upon this ſhe took the paper containing the queſtions, and ſaid ſhe would deliver it to the virgin. The next day after mattins the reader appeared again as the virgin, attended by St. Barbara, who was the prior, and two angels, which were wooden images; and after much diſcourſe, containing a ſolemn declaration that ſhe was born like other women, in original ſin, though ſhe continued in that ſtate only three hours; ſhe, as an eſpecial favour, took his hand, and nailed it to the bed poſt; ſaying that ſhe would viſit him again, and favour him with the four other wounds of her ſon. This treatment, as may be ſuppoſed, was not much to Jetzer's liking; but ſhe exhorted him not only to bear it with patience, but to receive it with gratitude for the honour that was done him. All this was at this time publiſhed in the city, and boaſted of in the ſermons of the friars, as an honour to the city of Berne, and to all Switzerland.

On the Palm ſunday following the ſuppoſed virgin appeared to Jetzer again, diſcourſed more at large concerning her conception, and promiſed to honour him with more viſits. At this time the ſub-prior went to meet the provincial of the order at Ulm, informed him of what had been done, and

and adviſed a meeting of the principal fathers of the order at Pfortzeim, at the time of holding the chapter, when the prior and the reader would attend. Eight days after Eaſter the four principals of the monaſtery, after ſome preparation, waited upon Jetzer, and gave him two papers, containing the oppoſite doctrines concerning the conception of the virgin, and directed him to requeſt at her next viſit that ſhe would tear that which was falſe; and the night following this was done by the reader, who perſonated the virgin.

Some of the friars affecting to doubt whether the apparition might not be that of an evil ſpirit, Jetzer was directed to requeſt the next time the virgin appeared, that ſhe would repeat the *pater noſter*, the *ave Maria*, and the apoſtle's creed. This ſhe readily did, and at the ſame time pretended to bring him a lighted candle from heaven.

At another time this virgin pretending by ſome trick to change a white wafer into a red one, as a proof of the reality of the viſion, Jetzer, forgetting his promiſe not to ſtir from the bed on which he lay, jumped out, and ſeizing the pretended virgin, diſcovered the impoſture. They then told him that they had done this in order to try whether he was a man eaſy to be impoſed upon; and that not being able to deceive him, they now had no doubt of the truth of the former appearances; and ſhow-

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ing him that other wafers could not be coloured with blood as that was, he was made to believe that the red wafer was really one that had been made ſo by the virgin, and that they had taken it from the altar where ſhe had depoſited it.

After this, the other actors being gone to the chapter to conſult with their brethren how they ſhould conduct themſelves in the preſent circumſtances, the ſub-prior appeared to Jetzer again as the virgin, and perſuaded him to receive the four remaining marks of her ſon's paſſion; and he impreſſed them upon his feet, hands and ſide, with a hot iron, which made him roar with pain. But he was perſuaded to bear it with patience and gratitude.

The prior and reader being returned from Pforzheim, and after diſcourſing with Jetzer, finding that he had ſome ſuſpicion of a trick with reſpect to the red wafer, they determined to take him off by poiſon. But he, ſuſpecting that there was ſomething noxious in ſome ſoup that was given him, gave it to ſome young wolves, and they died in conſequence of it. Still, however, he was made to believe, that tho' the ſoup had killed the wolves, it would not have hurt a man.

In the mean time the ſub-prior perſonating the virgin Mary, and another friar coming to dreſs

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his wounds, he diſcovered who they were. But again they ſaid they did it only to try him.

They then contrived to make a ſtatue of the virgin Mary appear to ſhed tears of blood, and to hold a converſation with an image of Jeſus who complained of the honor done to her, in derogation of that which was due to himſelf only. And when Jetzer acted the paſſion of our Saviour as he had been inſtructed to do, they would have given him the red water which was poiſoned; but he declined it, and took another. Many of the people of the town were permitted to ſee this miracle of the tears of blood, but ſeveral of them thought it to be only a trick; and when after this exhibition one of the friars was concealed behind a board in the wall near the image of the virgin, in order to make her ſeem to converſe with Jetzer, he diſcovered the cheat by the motion of the board, and openly reproached them all as impoſtors.

The council of Berne, being at a loſs what to think of the affair, deſired the provincial of the Dominicans to inquire into it; and he ſent two deputies to Jetzer; who after uſing very harſh language, and ill treatment, made him promiſe that when the biſhop of Lauſanne came to examine him (as they had heard that he would) he would not divulge any thing to the prejudice of the order. The biſhop accordingly came, but he could

could not diſcover any thing; as they had taken down the cell of Jetzer, and alſo that which was next to it, leſt their apparatus for impoſing upon him ſhould have been found out.

The prior then perſonated St. Bernard; and after diſcourſing with Jetzer in that character, would have gone out of the window like a ſpirit, that had no occaſion to tread the ground. But Jetzer, diſcovering the trick, puſhed him with ſuch violence, that the ſub-prior and the ſteward, who waited without to receive him, were obliged to carry him away, and take care of his wounds.

About this time Jetzer refuſed to have his wounds dreſſed by the friars, and then found that they healed of themſelves in three days. And when the ſub-prior and the ſteward entered his room, one of them in the character of the virgin, and the other in that of St. Catherine of Sienna, he knew them by their voices, and, falling upon them, he wounded one of them in the ſhoulder, and ſtunned the other with a blow of a hammer. In defending themſelves, however, they ſtruck him a blow on the cheek, which was ſwelled eight days. He then complained to the prior, and, to the reader, of the impoſition in very harſh language. And after this he ſurprized three of the friars in the chamber of the prior regaling themſelves in company

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with women, and ſharply reproved them for their conduct.

Finding that they could not impoſe upon him any more, they compelled him by harſh uſage and torture to take an oath that he would never diſcover the impoſture; but not depending upon this, they put a poiſoned water into his mouth as he was acting the paſſion of our Saviour, which they had perſuaded him to do once more; but, ſuſpecting their intention, he did not ſwallow it, and ſpit it out when the ceremony was over.

Still hoping to deceive him, they dreſſed a perſon to reſemble the virgin, who ſpoke to Jetzer when he was on his knees before the great altar. But being now well apprized of their tricks, he replied "*Thou art not Mary, but the devil,* and drew his knife in order to wound her; when ſhe put out the candle and eſcaped.

On the 24th of September the reader and the ſub-prior went to Rome to conſult with their general. He being abſent, they applied to his vicar general, who enjoined them to proceed no farther, promiſing to procure a brief from the pope to prevent any inquiry into the buſineſs. But the citizens of Bern not being ſatisfied, the affair was brought before their council, and the prior and Jetzer were both examined; when nothing being diſcovered the latter was conducted to Lauſanne; but thinking himſelf

ſelf bound by his oath, he profeſſed, when he was interrogated, that he believed the truth of the viſions. The council of Bern not being ſatisfied with this, he was examined by torture; when he confeſſed all that he knew, and the biſhop wrote to Rome, to conſult his ſuperior upon the buſineſs, which now appeared to be of conſiderable importance.

In the beginning of the year A. D. 1500, Paul Hughes, the vicar of the order, with other eccleſiaſtics arrived; and to cover the diſgrace of the order he degraded Jetzer. But being then examined again before the council, and confronted with all that were concerned in the impoſture, he perſiſted in his evidence againſt them, and in his account of the ſcandalous lives that they led.

On the 5th of February, Jetzer perſiſting in his evidence when again put to the torture, the four friars were apprehended, and committed to the cuſtody of ſoldiers. The pope (Julius II.) being then applied to, and all the four being examined in his preſence, they confeſſed the whole, and begged for mercy; but after much formality in the proceedings, the judge appointed by the pope ſentenced them to be firſt degraded, and then burned alive; and this was executed on the 31ſt of May, in the preſence of an infinite number of ſpectators. Jetzer was made to walk in the ſtreets of Bern with a

mitre of paper on his head, expoſed upon a ladder for one hour before the houſe of the provoſt, and baniſhed from upper and lower Germany.

Thus ended this bold attempt to impoſe upon the world by a pretended miracle, which naturally led perſons to ſuſpect that other miracles pretended to have been wrought in proof of other doctrines, and eſpecially of purgatory, and others in which the emoluments of the prieſts, monks or friars were concerned, might have no better foundation, tho' it was impoſſible to prove the impoſition.

This ſtory is alluded to in that admirable poem of Buchanan intitled *Franciſcanus*, the object of which was to expoſe the order of Franciſcans, and the friars and monks in general. With the ſame view he dwells more largely on the caſe of a nun, who being pregnant, but to diſguiſe her ſex was dreſſed like a man, was delivered of a child in the veſſel in which ſhe, together with the monk with whom ſhe had co-habited, was ſailing on the river Loire in France, to go to Bourdeaux.

We are not, however, to infer that all the members of theſe religious orders were thus licentious; tho' in certain periods, and eſpecially a little before the reformation, the generality of them perhaps were ſo. There were among them at all times numerous examples of the moſt fervent piety, tho' debaſed with much and groſs ſuperſtition. They really

really renounced the pleaſures and vanities of this life, in order to facilitate, as they thought, their preparation for another.

SECTION X.

Articles relating to Church Diſcipline.

IN this period ſome new feſtivals were introduced into the church. In A. D. 1441 the council of Baſil decreed the feſtival of *the viſitation of the virgin Mary* to be celebrated the 2d of July In A. D. 1456 pope Calixtus III confirmed the celebration of the feſtival of *the tranſfiguration*, an office was compoſed for the purpoſe, and indulgences annexed to the obſervance of it, ſimilar to thoſe annexed to the obſervance of the feſtival of the *holy ſacrament*. In A. D. 1476 Sixtus IV. in order to guard againſt the plague, and an inundation with which the city of Rome had been afflicted, granted indulgences to "thoſe who would obſerve this feſtival of the holy ſacrament, and that of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary," ſo expreſſed in the bull. This order was received with much ſatisfaction, becauſe, tho' the ſame had been

ordered by the council of Baſil, that council was by many conſidered as ſchiſmatical. In A. D. 1481 the ſame pope eſtabliſhed the feſtival of *St. Joſeph*, ordering the obſervance of it to be univerſal; whereas it had before this time been confined to the cloiſters of the Carmelites, the Franciſcans, and perhaps the Dominicans.

The jubilee in A. D. 1450 was frequented by more perſons than any former one. Many were cruſhed to death in the churches and other places. Ninety ſeven perſons were thrown off the bridge of St. Angelo and drowned on occaſion of a mule paſſing over it. Perſons of great diſtinction attended this jubilee, and among them the count of Cilley in Stiria, a man addicted to every kind of vice, and who continued to be ſo after his return. The people of Poland and Lithuania were allowed the benefit of this jubilee, on their paying half as much money as the journey to Rome would have coſt them, of which the king was to have one half for the expences of the war againſt the Turks. One fourth was to be at the diſpoſal of queen Sophia, for the purpoſe of giving portions to young women, and the remaining fourth was to be applied to the repairs of churches in Rome. This, being more than was wanted, was reduced one half, and ſtill was a great ſum.

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In A. D. 1470 Paul II. reduced the term of the jubilee to twenty five years, to commence in A. D. 1475. The jubilee in A. D. 1500 was not ſo well attended as the preceding, on account of the wars in Italy. Alſo the ſame indulgence was granted to thoſe who did not go to Rome on their paying a certain ſum of money, which it was pretended would be employed in the war againſt the Turks. Notwithſtanding this, Rome exhibited on this occaſion a ſcene of the greateſt diſorder, ſays Mariana, eſpecially among the clergy, who ought to have ſet a better example.

Among other regulations to ſecure the decent celebration of public worſhip, it was ordered in the council of Baſil, in A. D. 1435, that all perſons ſhould bow on the pronounciation of the name of Jeſus. It was at the ſame time forbidden to ſay maſs in ſo low a voice that no perſon could hear it. Alſo plays performed in churches by children were forbidden, together with maſquerades, and ſales in churches, and church yards. Dances and plays in churches were forbidden at a council held at Sens in A. D. 1485.

In March 1471 Galeazzo Sforza duke of Milan accompanied by his ducheſs Bona, ſiſter of the duke of Savoy, paid a viſit to Florence, where they took up their reſidence with Lorenzo de Medici, but their attendants, who were very numerous, were

mitre of paper on his head, expoſed upon a ladder for one hour before the houſe of the provoſt, and baniſhed from upper and lower Germany.

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This ſtory is alluded to in that admirable poem of Buchanan intitled *Franciſcanus*, the object of which was to expoſe the order of Franciſcans, and the friars and monks in general. With the ſame view he dwells more largely on the caſe of a nun, who being pregnant, but to diſguiſe her ſex was dreſſed like a man, was delivered of a child in the veſſel in which ſhe, together with the monk with whom ſhe had co-habited, was ſailing on the river Loire in France, to go to Bourdeaux.

We are not, however, to infer that all the members of theſe religious orders were thus licentious; tho' in certain periods, and eſpecially a little before the reformation, the generality of them perhaps were ſo. There were among them at all times numerous examples of the moſt fervent piety, tho' debaſed with much and groſs ſuperſtition. They really

really renounced the pleaſures and vanities of this life, in order to facilitate, as they thought, their preparation for another.

SECTION X.

Articles relating to Church Diſcipline.

IN this period ſome new feſtivals were introduced into the church. In A. D. 1441 the council of Baſil decreed the feſtival of *the viſitation of the virgin Mary* to be celebrated the 2d of July In A. D. 1456 pope Calixtus III confirmed the celebration of the feſtival of *the tranſfiguration*. an office was compoſed for the purpoſe, and indulgences annexed to the obſervance of it, ſimilar to thoſe annexed to the obſervance of the feſtival of the *holy ſacrament*. In A. D. 1476 Sixtus IV. in order to guard againſt the plague, and an inundation with which the city of Rome had been afflicted, granted indulgences to "thoſe who would obſerve this feſtival of the holy ſacrament, and that of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary," ſo expreſſed in the bull. This order was received with much ſatisfaction, becauſe, tho' the ſame had been

ordered by the council of Baſil, that council was by many conſidered as ſchiſmatical. In A. D. 1481 the ſame pope eſtabliſhed the feſtival of *St. Joſeph*, ordering the obſervance of it to be univerſal; whereas it had before this time been confined to the cloiſters of the Carmelites, the Franciſcans, and perhaps the Dominicans.

The jubilee in A. D. 1450 was frequented by more perſons than any former one. Many were cruſhed to death in the churches and other places. Ninety ſeven perſons were thrown off the bridge of St. Angelo and drowned on occaſion of a mule paſſing over it. Perſons of great diſtinction attended this jubilee, and among them the count of Cilley in Stiria, a man addicted to every kind of vice, and who continued to be ſo after his return. The people of Poland and Lithuania were allowed the benefit of this jubilee, on their paying half as much money as the journey to Rome would have coſt them, of which the king was to have one half for the expences of the war againſt the Turks. One fourth was to be at the diſpoſal of queen Sophia, for the purpoſe of giving portions to young women, and the remaining fourth was to be applied to the repairs of churches in Rome. This, being more than was wanted, was reduced one half, and ſtill was a great ſum.

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In A. D. 1470 Paul II. reduced the term of the jubilee to twenty five years, to commence in A. D. 1475. The jubilee in A. D. 1500 was not ſo well attended at the preceding, on account of the wars in Italy. Alſo the ſame indulgence was granted to thoſe who did not go to Rome on their paying a certain ſum of money, which it was pretended would be employed in the war againſt the Turks. Notwithſtanding this, Rome exhibited on this occaſion a ſcene of the greateſt diſorder, ſays Mariana, eſpecially among the clergy, who ought to have ſet a better example.

Among other regulations to ſecure the decent celebration of public worſhip, it was ordered in the council of Baſil, in A. D. 1435, that all perſons ſhould bow on the pronounciation of the name of Jeſus. It was at the ſame time forbidden to ſay maſs in ſo low a voice that no perſon could hear it. Alſo plays performed in churches by children were forbidden, together with maſquerades, and ſales in churches, and church yards. Dances and plays in churches were forbidden at a council held at Sens in A. D. 1485.

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accommodated at the public charge, and this occaſioned a ſcene of general riot and diſſipation. Machiavelli ſays it was the firſt time that an open diſregard was avowed in Florence of the prohibition of eating fleſh in lent. *Roſcoe's life of Lorenzo*, p. 137.

The evils which aroſe from the privilege of aſylum in churches and church yards in England was great in D. D. 1488, all kinds of criminals being by that means ſcreened from the purſuit of juſtice. Henry VII. applied to the pope for a remedy. But all that was done was to order that, if any perſon quitted his aſylum to commit any new crime he loſt the privilege, that debtors might be compelled to ſatisfy their creditors, and that traitors, tho' they could not be forced from their aſylums, ſhould be kept in view, and prevented from acting againſt the king.

We have ſeen the firſt eſtabliſhment of the *inquiſition* in a preceding period; but it was not fully eſtabliſhed in its preſent form, at leaſt in Spain, till the year A. D. 1478, when certain officers were appointed for the ſole purpoſe of judging in articles of faith, hereſy, and infidelity, independant of the biſhops.* The occaſion of this eſtabliſhment was the

* The man who put the finiſhing hand to the Inquiſitorial ſyſtem in Spain, and brought it to its preſent form, was Thomas of Torquemala, confeſſor to Ferdi-

the relapſing of many Moors and Jews, and their perverting others. After the taking of Grenada, the inquiſition was extended to all the conquered countries, afterwards to Sicily, and Sardinia, and all the other ſtates of the king of Spain, except Naples, and the Low Countries, where the people always revolted on every attempt to introduce it. It had now got the title of the *holy office*, and beſides hereſy, took cogniſance of ſortilege, ſodomy, and polygamy. The king appointed an *inquisitor general* for all his dominions; and he, with the conſent of the king, appointed particular inquiſitors for each place. The king alſo appointed a council or ſenate, to aſſiſt the inquiſitor general. His officers, whoſe buſineſs it was to apprehend the priſoners, were called *familiars*.

In about A. D. 1440 great numbers of perſons were, at the inſtigation of the inquiſitor, driven out of Biſcay to Valadolid, and Dominga de Calvados, and burned alive at thoſe places, for refuſing to abjure doctrines condemned by the church of Rome. *Geddes's Tracts*, Vol. 1, p. 455.

In A. D. 1485 the erection of the inquiſition occaſioned much diſturbance in Spain, many perſons being put to death in it, and among them

nand and Iſabella. He was made Inquiſitor General of all Spain, and alſo the chief inſtrument of the expulſion of the Jews and Moors. *Robinson*, p. 323.

there were ſaid to have been many that were innocent. Some of the chief nobility joined the complainants; ſaying the inquiſition was a violation of their liberties, that the inquiſitors were not content with the confiſcation of the goods of perſons accuſed, that the informer was allowed to be a witneſs, that the accuſed had no knowledge of his accuſers, and that there was no confrontation of witneſſes. From complaints they proceeded to open revolt. The ſtates of Arragon intreated Ferdinand to regulate the tribunal of the inquiſition on the model of other tribunals, and forbid the confiſcation of goods. One of the inquiſitors was murdered in a church by a band of perſons; but he was afterwards canonized as a martyr.

In A. D. 1517 alſo ſtrong remonſtrances were made againſt the proceedings of the inquiſition in Spain. Complaints were made that innocent perſons were put to death in it, and a deputation was ſent to the king at Bruſſels, requeſting, as before, that their proceedings might be made to conform to thoſe of other tribunals, that the informer ſhould not be a witneſs, that the accuſed ſhould know his accuſer, and that witneſſes ſhould be confronted. The Jews and Moors ſtrengthened this application by the offer of a large ſum of money. But cardinal Ximenes repreſented that, if the inquiſition was reformed, they would be liable

ble to be murdered, and there would be an univerſal revolt through Spain. This had its effect, and nothing was done.

Some time before this, viz. in A. D. 1510. the people of Naples revolted againſt the inquiſition which the Spaniards had introduced into that city. In order to appeaſe the tumult, the vicero ordered all the Jews, who were newly arrived from Spain, whether converted or not, to leave the kingdom; and there being then no pretence for the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition, he aboliſhed it, with the advice of the pope himſelf, intereſted as he was in keeping it up.

The liberty of the preſs, after the invention of multiplying books by printing, could not fail to alarm the governing powers in the church, in this age of reading and thinking. At the council of Lateran in A. D. 1515, it was decreed, that, ſince many books containing pernicious doctrines, and offenſive to perſons in high ſtations, had been printed, nothing ſhould for the future be publiſhed in Italy till it had been examined by perſons appointed by the pope, and in other places by the biſhop of the dioceſe, or the inquiſitor of the place, under pain of excommunication, to be pronounced without delay.

No council ever met with better intentions than that held at Baſil; and notwithſtanding the

oppoſition the members met with from the pope, and the coolneſs of the chriſtian princes, they made ſeveral uſeful reforms; but as the credit of the council ſunk, they came to have no effect. They ordered that no town or place ſhould have an interdict laid upon it, except for the fault of the whole town or its governor. For the eaſe of ſcrupulous conſciences, they decreed that it was ſafe to communicate with any perſon who was not excommunicated by name; and when the excommunication had been pronounced by a competent judge, and properly notified. They ordered that nothing ſhould be taken for proviſions, collations, elections, and inſtitutions, at the court of Rome, for any benefice whatever, on the pretence of annates, or any other cauſe; that if the pope himſelf ſhould act contrary to this decree, he ſhould be denounced to the council. The pope and his legates proteſted againſt this decree, but in vain. They condemned all expectative graces, mandates, and reſerves of benefices, which the popes had been uſed to appropriate to themſelves. They reduced the number of cardinals to twenty four. They ordered that nephews of popes or cardinals ſhould not be eligible to this dignity, that they ſhould not be under thirty years of age, their revenues ſhould be derived from the lands, and places belonging to

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the ſee of Rome, that they ſhould be the pope's council. and ſign all his acts.

Pope Eugenius in his defence of the archbiſhop of York, whom he had made a cardinal againſt the archbiſhop of Canterbury, carried the origin of the cardinalſhip as high as the old Teſtament, and aſſerted its dignity above that of an archbiſhop. Theſe he ſaid, preſided over particular churches, but that the cardinals had the juriſdiction of the whole church, in conjunction with the holy ſee.

The buſineſs of *confeſſion* was ſo gainful to the church, that it was watched with the moſt ſcrupulous attention. At the council of Tortoſa in A. D. 1429, it was ordered that phyſicians ſhould not pay three viſits together to any perſon who had not confeſſed. And, at a council held at Paris, the ſame year, phyſicians were directed to exhort their patients to confeſs before they adminiſtered any medicines to them, and not to adminiſter any if they refuſed.

Extreme unction by its denomination implies that it is not to be repeated. Notwithſtanding this, Pius II, tho' he had received this ſacrament when he had been ſuppoſed to be at the point of death, but had recovered, received it a ſecond time before he actually died. At the time, however, there was much diſpute about the propriety of it.

SECTION

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to wear a particular dreſs, and to live as much as poſſible by themſelves. At the ſame time thoſe of them who would become chriſtians were allowed to retain what they had got by uſury, provided they did not know to whom it belonged. At a council at Friſingue, in A. D. 1440, Jews were forbidden to lend on uſury, to have chriſtian domeſtics, to have their windows or gates ſhut at whitſuntide, to appear in public in paſſion week, to ſay any thing againſt religion, the virgin Mary, or the ſaints, when the ſacrament was carried to the ſick. It was alſo ordered that no chriſtian ſhould go to the bath along with them, or take their medicines.

Ferdinand and Iſabella, after expelling the Moors from Spain, iſſued an edict in A. D. 1492, by which all the Jews were ordered to leave the country in the ſpace of four months, if they did not embrace chriſtianity; and all who could not afford to pay for their paſſage out of it were made ſlaves. Mariana ſays that ſeventy thouſand families and eight hundred thouſand perſons left Spain in conſequence of this edict. But the Jews ſay they were not leſs than an hundred thouſand families. The favour that the learned Abrabinel had with the king and queen could not ſave him. He went with the reſt of his brethren into exile into Italy. Great numbers, however, gave way to the ſtorm, by pretending to become converts to chriſti-

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anity; but they were narrowly watched by the officers of the inquiſition.

John II. of Portugal permitted the Jews to take refuge in his country, but he made each of them pay him eight crowns of gold; and Emanuel, who ſucceeded him, marrying the daughter of Ferdinand, baniſhed both the Moors and Jews, and not allowing them to take their children that were above fourteen years of age, ſome killed themſelves, and others their children. Thoſe who fled being obliged to go from one port to another, and many delays being purpoſely thrown in their way, many of them were entirely impoveriſhed.

In A. D. 1494 twelve Jews and two Jeweſſes were executed in Hungary on the charge of killing a chriſtian, and drinking his blood. But they ſuffered the moſt by the inquiſition in Spain and Portugal; ſo that great numbers, finding it inconvenient to leave the country, outwardly conformed to the catholic religion. In A. D. 1498 two hundred and eighty Jews in Spain made profeſſion of the chriſtian religion.

In A. D. 1506 the populace of Liſbon roſe upon the Jews, on the occaſion of one of them, who had been newly converted, expoſing a pretended miracle, while he was attending divine ſervice. He was immediately dragged out of the church, and burned in the middle of the ſtreet.

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The people were headed by two monks, and they made a dreadful maſſacre of the newly converted Jews, ſparing neither men, women, nor children. This maſſacre continued three days; and about two thouſand perſons periſhed in it. The king however, was much offended, and the two monks were puniſhed with death, and their aſhes thrown to the winds.

In the fifteenth century Paul of Burgo, who had been a Jewiſh Rabbin, embraced chriſtianity, and was made biſhop of Carthagena, and afterwards of Burgos. He wrote, among other things, a work entitled *Scrutinium Scripturarum*, which has been printed. He had a large family, which ſubſiſts ſtill in Spain, and in much ſplendor. He died in A. D. 1431. *La Croze's Ethiopie*, p. 54.

In A. D. 1614, a profeſſor in the academy at Marpurg, of the name of Victor, being ſhocked at the myſtery of the trinity, renounced chriſtianity, for Judaiſm, and retired to Theſſalonica, taking the name of Moſes Pardo. *Basnage*, Vol. 9, p. 844.

II. *Of the Propagation of Chriſtianity.*

Little occurs about the propagation of chriſtianity in any form within this period. In A. D. 1490 the king of Portugal ſent miſſionaries to Congo, and the king of that country was baptized.

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But finding that he would be allowed to have no more than one wife, he returned to his former religion, tho' his ſon perſevered in the profeſſion of chriſtianity.

III. *Of the Moors in Spain.*

On an apprehenſion of a revolt of the Moors In Spain in A. D. 1499, king Ferdinand, by the advice of Ximenes, ſummoned the Mooriſh prieſts and monks before him at Grenada, and by threatening them with death, engaged them to become chriſtians, and endeavour to convert other Moors. On this occaſion the number baptized was very great. Among others, a Mooriſh prince, of the name of Zegri, was converted, and he afterwards became a zealous catholic. But in general it could not be ſuppoſed that many of theſe converſions were real. At this time it was ſaid, that five thouſand copies of the Koran were burned. This perſecution occaſioned a ſudden revolt of the Mahometan Moors, and about an hundred thouſand of them appeared in arms; but having no plan, or regular commander, they were ſoon diſperſed.

IV. *Of the Turks.*

The recovery of the holy land was in this period wholly deſpaired of by the chriſtians in the Weſt, and inſtead of meaſures of offence, their great

great object was to defend themſelves againſt the Turks. The great object of the council of Mantua, in A. D. 1459, was to promote the union of all the chriſtian powers againſt this formidable enemy. Pius II had this buſineſs much at heart, and to appearance he brought the princes of Europe to enter into his meaſures; but dying as he was ready to embark in perſon on the expedition, the enterprize came to nothing.

V. *Of Unbelievers.*

There were, no doubt, many unbelievers, in this, as well as the preceding periods; but as they had no intereſt in being martyrs, they would naturally diſguiſe, or deny, their principles. According to the philoſophy of theſe times, originally derived from Averroes, they held that there was only one ſoul in all men, and of courſe that all ſeparate conſciouſneſs ceaſed at death. At the council of Lateran in A. D 1513, a decree was made againſt the philoſophers who taught this doctrine, as alſo that of the eternity of the world, and others of a ſimilar tendency. They had been taught by Peter Pomponatius, a profeſſor of philoſophy of great reputation at Padua. However, he always ſaid that, tho' there is no proof in natural reaſon for the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul, it was eſtabliſhed by the ſcriptures, and the authority of the

church. Sigiſmond Malateſta, prince of Rimini, who commanded the armies of the Sienneſe and Florentines, and who had the character of being the greateſt general of theſe times, was a man without any religion, openly denying the immortality of the ſoul. He was excommunicated by Pius II for refuſing to pay a tax to the church. At length, being defeated by the troops of the pope, he confeſſed his errors, and received abſolution.

VI. *Of Superſtition.*

Many inſtances of *ſuperſtition* occur in this as well as former periods; and as they are inſtructive, as well as amuſing, I ſhall recite a few of them. In A. D. 1480, the inhabitants of Perufia had a warm conteſt with thoſe of Cluſium, aſſiſted by the Sienneſe, about the ring which Joſeph gave to the virgin Mary when he married her. The former ſaid that they got the poſſeſſion of it in ſome miraculous manner, and were ready to expoſe their lives and fortunes for the recovery of it from the latter, who had ſtolen it from them. Pope Sixtus IV, not chuſing to hazard his authority on the occaſion, did not venture to decide in the cauſe; but Innocent VIII confirmed the inhabitants of Cluſium in the poſſeſſion.

In A. D. 1492 the title written by Pilate for the croſs of Chriſt was pretended to be found in Rome,

Rome, and was ſaid to have been ſent thither by Helena the mother of Conſtantine. Another title being pretended to be found at Thouloufe, and to have been there long before the diſcovery of that at Rome, Alexander VI. in A. D. 1496. publiſhed a bull, in which he aſſerted the authenticity of that at Rome, and granted indulgences to thoſe who ſhould viſit the church in which it was kept the laſt ſunday in January. In the ſame year the Turkiſh emperor Bajazet ſent the pope the iron head of the lance with which it was ſaid the ſide of Jeſus had been pierced. All the clergy in Rome, accompanied by the pope himſelf, went in ſolemn proceſſion to receive it. However, the emperor was ſaid to have the ſame relic at Nuremberg, and the king of France at Paris.

Judicial aſtrology was in great credit in theſe times, tho' always regarded with ſuſpicion by the friends of religion. In A. D. 1493 one Simon Pharos, a profeſſor of judicial aſtrology, having been forbidden the practice of his art by the archbiſhop of Lyons, appealed to the parliament of Paris. They referred the cauſe to the faculty of the univerſity, who in A. D. 1494 declared the art to be "pernicious, fabulous, ſuperſtitious, an uſur-"pation of the honour of God, a corruption of "good morals, and invented by dæmons for the "deſtruction of men." The parliament, in conſe-

quence of this opinion, confirmed the decree of the archbiſhop of Lyons, and forbad the exerciſe of the art.

Of the Art of Printing, and the Progreſs of Literature.

Notwithſtanding this ſuperſtition, this was the age in which the foundation was laid for the advancement of literature in all future ages, by the invention of the art of *printing*. This noble art to which religion and literature are ſo much indebted, was invented about the year A. D. 1440. There has been much diſputing about the origin of it; but it is with the greateſt probability aſcribed (as I think is clearly proved by Dr. Cogan in the account of his journey along the Rhine) to Laurence Coſter a magiſtrate of Haarlem in Holland about A. D. 1430. But a ſervant of his, John Geinsfleſche, having robbed him of his types, which were made of wood, and joining J. Fauſtus a perſon of property at Mentz, and afterwards Guttenberg of Straſburgh, and they taking into their ſervice P. Schæffer, an ingenious young man who diſcovered the method of caſting metal types, and then printing books in Latin, while Coſter only printed a few in Dutch, the Germans carried away the honour of the invention.

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At firſt their printed copies were ſold as manuſcripts; but appearing to be too numerous, and too like one another, to have been executed in that way, the ſecret was diſcovered; and from Germany the art was ſoon carried to other parts of Europe. This art, by making books cheap, put it within the power of the poor, as well as the rich, to acquire knowledge.

The literature of Europe gained much by the extinction of the Greek empire by the Turks, many learned men leaving Conſtantinople, and being received with much diſtinction in Italy, eſpecially by the Medici of Florence. Till this period very few Europeans underſtood any thing of Greek.

It was in favour of free enquiry that Lewis XI of France, gave leave to read the works of Occam, and other Nominaliſts, which had been prohibited in the univerſity of Paris; the advocates for them pleading their merit, in oppoſition to the doctrine of a profeſſor at Louvain, concerning the certainty of future events.

Biblical knowledge is much indebted to cardinal Ximenes, who in A. D. 1502 began the conſtruction of a *Polyglott Bible*, employing the moſt learned men that he could find in Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek, in the execution of it. But it

pretended that they were founded, and maintained the doctrines of election and predeſtination. All this paſſed in A. D. 1517.

In the year following Luther attended the chapter of the Auguſtins at Heidelberg; where, in the preſence of the elector palatine, to whom the elector of Saxony had given him recommendations, and Laurent de Bibra, biſhop of Wurtzburg, a man of piety and good ſenſe, well diſpoſed to a reformation, he propoſed more theſes on the ſubject of free-will, good works, and juſtification by faith alone; in which it was ſaid that he diſcovered the ſubtlety of St. Paul, but not that of Scotus. This was the account that was given by Martin Bucer, thenalmoner of the elector Palatine; who ſaid that he maintained the ſentiments of Eraſmus, but more openly. On this occaſion Luther gained ſo much of the eſteem of the biſhop, that before he died, which was in the year following, he wrote to the elector Frederic to conjure him not to ſuffer a good and honeſt man like Luther to leave his eſtates, an advice which he did not forget. In all this Luther only propoſed ſubjects for diſcuſſion. He reſpected the deciſions of the church; but perceiving the weakneſs of the ſcholaſtic doctrines, and the groſs abuſes of the papal authority, he began to reject every thing that was not founded on the ſcriptures.

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The firſt who undertook the defence of Tetzel againſt Luther were Sylveſter de Prierias, maſter of the ſacred palace, and John de Eyk, or Ecchius, profeſſor of theology at Ingolſtadt, a friend of Luther; who by order of his biſhop made ſome critical remarks on his theſes, and with more aſperity than became a perſon who profeſſed friendſhip. Among other accuſations he inſinuated that he was tainted with the venom of Bohemia, which at that time was the moſt injurious reflection that he could have thrown out. Luther anſwered with equal ſeverity, but tho' without any reſpect for the ſchoolmen, with due regard to the authority of the pope, aſcribing the abuſe of indulgences to his flatterers.

Prierias's treatiſe was in the form of a *dialogue*, dedicated to Leo X. In it he expreſſed great contempt for Luther, and aſſerted the authority of the popes in the higheſt terms; taxing with hereſy all who denied it. In anſwer to him Luther inſiſted upon his maxim of trying every thing by the ſcriptures, which he maintained on the authority of St. Auſtin. He now proceeded farther than he had done before, attacking the infallibility of the pope and even that of councils. He did not omit to cenſure the power which the popes claimed over the rights of princes, and did not fail to mention the tyranny of Boniface VIII,

and the bloody wars of Julius II. And as Prierias had inſinuated that he would not have written as he did againſt indulgences if he had had a biſhoprick, and a church in which he could have publiſhed them himſelf, he ſaid that if theſe had been his views, the method of ſucceeding in them was well known, and even reſounded in the ſtreets of Rome; alluding to ſome popular ballads in which the venality of the court of Rome was expoſed.

Luther alſo took this opportunity of publiſhing an explication and proof of his original theſes, written ſome time before; a work compoſed with much care, but in which he was far from rejecting the authority of the pope, or the generally received doctrines. On the contrary, he cenſured the Bohemians for rejecting the doctrine of purgatory; ſaying that they preferred a doctrine of fifty years ſtanding to the antient faith of the church. This work he dedicated to Leo X, expreſſing his perſuaſion that he would do him juſtice; complaining of the conduct of his enemies, and the indecent manner in which indulgences had been publiſhed; and avowing his ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee in the moſt reſpectful manner. He concluded with ſaying, "I ſubmit to your judgment my perſon and "my writings. You have the power of taking my "life, or of giving it to me, to approve or to con"demn me as you pleaſe. Whatever you pro"nounce

"nounce I ſhall receive it as the award of Jeſus "Chriſt, who preſides in your perſon, and ſpeaks "by your mouth."

This work Luther ſent to the biſhop of Brandenburg, and alſo to his vicar Stupitz. This biſhop diſapproved of the ſhameful traffic of indulgences, but he thought the doctrine of Luther ſtill more dangerous. Writing to Stupitz Luther reminded him of an excellent remark of his, which he ſaid he would never forget, viz. that there is no true repentance that does not begin with the love of God and of virtue. This he ſaid was the firſt light he received on the ſubject, and after deſiring him to tranſmit his book to the pope, he concluded in this memorable manner. "I have "no fortune, and I wiſh for none. If I had any "reputation, I am daily loſing it. I have only a "weak body, ſubject to continual illneſs. Let "them take my life by violence, or in any other "way, I am ready to obey God. They cannot "ſhorten my life much. Jeſus my maſter, and "my redeemer, is ſufficient for me, and as long as "I live I will ſing hymns to his honour."

SECTION

SECTION II.

The Progreſs of the Reformation from the Time that Luther attracted the Notice of the Pope to the Advancement of Charles V to the Empire, A. D. 1519.

HITHERTO the diſpute about indulgences had been confined to the monks. The grandees, indeed, as well as the common people, had been ſpectators, but they had taken no part in it. And had the pope contented himſelf with impoſing ſilence on the diſputants, the affair might have proceeded no farther. Leo himſelf is ſaid to have been inclined to this meaſure; ſaying that Luther was a man of ſpirit and ability, and that all the diſpute aroſe from the quarrels and jealouſies of the monks. But, happily for the intereſt of the reformation, and the progreſs of truth, he was overcome by the importunity of the Dominicans, and eſpecially of James Hochſtrat, of the monaſtery of Louvain; who told him that his authority and his intereſt were at ſtake. He, therefore, proceeded ſo far as to cite Luther to appear before him; but perhaps without intending him any harm. Luther

ther, however, when he received the citation, which was in Auguſt 8. A. D. 1518, concluded that his ruin was determined, but he did not on that account heſitate in forming his reſolution. Writing to George Spalatin, a perſon of great authority in the court of the elector of Saxony, who had been tutor to his nephew, and to the duke of Lunenburg, he ſaid he was able to defend himſelf, that he did not expect to eſcape violence, but that, at all events, the truth ſhould be defended. This he wrote when he had no expectation of protection from the elector, or any other perſon.

Staupitz, writing to him at this time, ſays, "The world is violently ſet againſt the truth, it "has few protectors, and thoſe very timid. I am "of opinion that you quit Wittemberg for ſome "time, and come to me, that we may live and die "together. Your prince is of the ſame opinion. "That is enough." The elector was not a little embarraſſed, as he did not wiſh to quarrel with the pope, who had ordered him, on the obedience which he owed to the church of Rome, to deliver the heretic Luther into his hands. Cajetan, his legate in Germany, alſo had orders to require all perſons, eccleſiaſtical or ſecular, the emperor alone excepted, to deliver him up, and that under pain of excommunication, interdict, and deprivation of goods and dignity to any who ſhould afford him

him retreat or protection. Accordingly the elector promiſed to ſend Luther to Rome.

The diet of the empire was this year held at Augſburg, and one of the commiſſions which the legate Cajetan had was to terminate the affair of Luther, and if poſſible by inducing him to retract what he had advanced. If he refuſed to do this, he was to demand him of the elector; and if he ſhould refuſe to give him up, he was to excommunicate Luther and all his adherents. In order to accompliſh this, he had prevailed upon the emperor Maximilian (who, however, was known to have an eſteem for Luther) to promiſe that if he ſhould be condemned, he would ſee that the ſentence ſhould be executed.

Luther, knowing that at Rome his enemies would be his judges, got Spalatin to entreat the elector to obtain the pope's leave to have commiſſioners appointed to examine him in Germany. But all that could be done was to have the legates take cognizance of the affair at the time of the diet. Accordingly, Luther, being aſſured by the elector, that he ſhould not be ſent to Rome, went to Augſburgh. But previous to this he had given more offence by the publication of a ſermon on the abuſe of excommunication, in which he maintained that an unjuſt excommunication does not deprive a chriſtian of communion with Jeſus Chriſt, and

that

that ſuch an excommunication, endured with patiance and humility, is the greateſt virtue. He aſſerted, however, that men ought to bear with patience the chaſtiſements of the church, ſince it was the power of Jeſus Chriſt which ſhe exerciſed, tho' it might be in the hands of Herods, or of Pilates.

Before he ſet out, the members of the univerſity of Wittemberg, which Luther had already made very famous, wrote to the pope in his favour; aſſuring his holineſs that he was orthodox, and faithful to the holy ſee; and they requeſted Charles de Miltitz to interpoſe his good offices in his favour. But this produced no good effect, and Cajetan had orders to inſiſt on Luther's recantation. This prelate, however, endeavoured in the firſt inſtance, to get Luther into his power, that he might ſend him to Rome; but Luther, apprized of his danger, declined ſeeing him till he had obtained a ſafe conduct of the emperor, which was readily granted, and the pope and the cardinal thought proper to diſſemble their chagrin.

Luther being introduced to Cajetan, which was on the 12th of October, was willing to ſpeak on his knees before him; but the cardinal very politely would not ſuffer it. However, after hearing him with great patience, he required of him three things, that he ſhould retract what he had advanced

ed reſpecting indulgences and juſtification by faith alone, that he ſhould keep ſilence on the ſubject for the future, and in general refrain from any thing that might diſturb the church. But gradually, and without deſign, entering into a diſpute on the ſubjects, Cajetan appeared to be altogether unacquainted with the ſcriptures, to which Luther conſtantly appealed, and inſiſted chiefly on the bull of Clement VI, in which Luther ſaid that the ſcriptures were falſely quoted; and to this bull he oppoſed the ſentiments of the faculty of theology at Paris, and the writings of Gerſon. Cajetan, provoked at this, ſaid they would chaſtiſe the divines at Paris, and that Gerſon and his diſciples were condemned already. In this altercation the cardinal did not fail to magnify the authority of the pope, as ſuperior to that of the councils, or even that of the ſcriptures.

The next day Luther again waited upon the cardinal, accompanied by four councellors of the empire, a notary, and another witneſs, when he read a proteſtation of reſpect for the Roman ſee, but declared that, being perſuaded that he had not advanced any thing but what was orthodox, he could not retract till he was convinced of his error; that he was willing to appear before any proper tribunal, to give an account of his writings, and that he would ſubmit to the judgment of the univerſities

verſities of Baſil, Friburg, Louvain, and Paris. The cardinal, paying no attention to this, reſumed the diſpute, without giving Luther time to reply; when both Stupitz and Luther aſked leave to defend themſelves in writing, Luther ſaying that they had diſputed enough the day before. To this the cardinal, recollecting the part he ought to have acted, ſaid he had not been diſputing, he had only been inſtructing him, and that with gentleneſs, out of regard to his illuſtrious prince Frederic. Confiding too much in his powers, he had gone out of his province of judge, to which it had been his wiſdom to have adhered.

In this laſt interview Luther preſented his anſwer in writing to the cardinal's objections, in which he ſufficiently ſhewed his unwillingneſs to quarrel with the court of Rome. For he concluded with expreſſing his ſubmiſſion to the judgment of the church, and deſired the legate to inſtruct him, and intercede with the pope for him, "to have compaſſion on a ſoul that only ſought the "truth, and who refuſed to retract only becauſe he "could not do it without prevarication." The legate received this anſwer with diſdain, and only ſaid that he ſhould ſend it to the pope. But reſuming the diſpute, Luther by his acute remarks on the bull of pope Clement, which he had requeſted to be read, greatly embarraſſed the legate;

who finding himſelf unequal to the conteſt, ſent for Stupitz, and ordered him to employ all the authority he had over Luther. This he promiſed to do, but when the legate deſired him to convince Luther out of the ſcriptures, he replied that that was above his ſtrength; for that he was not comparable to Luther either for genius or knowledge of the ſcriptures. Beſides, in order that he might not be reſponſible for the conſequences, he had abſolved Luther from his vow of obedience.

Stupitz, willing to heal this breach, joined with Lincius in perſuading Luther to give ſatisfaction to the cardinal; and he ſo far yielded to them, that he wrote him a letter, in which he aſked pardon for the irreverance with which he had treated the pope, blaming the violence of his enemies. He alſo promiſed to keep ſilence, and ſubmit to the authority of others, tho' not to that of Th. Aquinas; and ſaid he was ready to do every thing except directly retracting what he had advanced, provided his enemies would be more moderate.

Hearing nothing from the cardinal, Luther appealed from the ſentence of the pope, to *the pope better informed*, and leaving his appeal with a public notary, withdrew privately from Augſburg; and when he was got to Nuremberg, he was for the firſt time apprized of the danger he had been in, the cardinal having had abſolute orders to ſeize him

him, and ſend him to Rome. This provoked him ſo much, that he ſaid that ſuch an order could only come from a villain. Staupitz and Lincius ſet out after him, without taking leave of the legate; and the former, fearing to ſuffer for permitting Luther to eſcape, ſought an aſylum in Saxony. When Luther was gone, the notary, not daring to carry his appeal to the cardinal, expoſed it in the public ſquare of the city. But he, without taking any notice of it, wrote to the elector, reproaching him with procuring a ſafe conduct for a heretic already condemned, and with much haughtineſs demanded of him either to baniſh Luther from his eſtates, or ſend him to Rome. The elector, offended at this conduct, only ſent the letter to Luther with orders to anſwer it.

The meaſures of the cardinal having had no good ſucceſs, he was much blamed by ſome for his vigour, and by others for his tameneſs. The elector was at firſt inclined to ſend Luther out of his eſtates, and he was as ready to go; expreſſing himſelf with great piety and magnanimity on the occaſion. But at length this prince came to a firm reſolution to protect him, and in anſwer to the legate ſaid, that he had ſent Luther to Augſburg as he had promiſed, and that when he was there he ought to have been convinced of his errors, and

not have been commanded by mere authority to retract; that orthodox univerſities had aſſured him that his doctrine was pure, and finally declared his reſolution that the univerſity of Wittemberg, the members of which had declared Luther's ſentiments to be catholic, ſhould not loſe a profeſſor of ſo much uſe to it.

At this time Melancthon, then in his twenty-ſecond year, at the recommendation of Reuchlin, who was his relation, came to be profeſſor of Greek in the univerſity of Wittemberg, and he proved to be of the greateſt importance to Luther, and to the cauſe of the reformation in general. Such was the reputation which at that early age he had acquired for his knowledge of the *belles lettres*, that Eraſmus, writing to Œcolampadius, ſaid, that if that young man lived, he would take from him the glory he had acquired. With him Luther ſoon formed an intimate connection which nothing ever broke.

Prierias at this time made a ſecond publication, in which he advanced ſuch high maxims with reſpect to the power of the pope, as tho' they had always been avowed by the zealous catholics, it was thought unſeaſonable to inſiſt upon at this conjuncture, as they gave Luther a manifeſt advantage. The Dominicans themſelves were aware

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of this, and endeavoured to ſuppreſs the book. But Luther ſoon put it out of their power. For he himſelf reprinted it, with a preface, notes, and a concluſion, in which he no longer obſerved the meaſures he had hitherto done with the court of Rome. "If theſe," ſaid he, "are their pretenſions, there is "no remedy but ſome exemplary chaſtiſement, to "revenge the majeſty of princes, and to exterminate "thoſe monſters, who would attribute to the pope "the rights of God and of all ſovereigns;" adding "If this be taught and believed at Rome, and if "the pope and the cardinals, which, however, I "do not believe, be informed of it, I boldly de-"clare that Antichriſt is now ſitting in the temple "of God, and that he reigns in Babylon, that Ba-"bylon which is clothed in purple, and that the "court of Rome is the ſynagogue of Satan. Fare-"well unhappy Rome, the wrath of God is come "upon thee to the uttermoſt, as thou haſt well "deſerved. Let us leave it to be the den of dra-"gons, of evil ſpirits, and monſters. It is full of "the idols of avarice, perfidy, and all wickedneſs, "a new pantheon of impiety."

He alſo at this time publiſhed an account of the conferences at Augſburgh, with very free reflections, in which he intimated a doubt whether the authority of the pope was ſufficiently proved by the words of Chriſt to St. Peter, "Upon this rock

"I will build my church." Beſides this, he propoſed another appeal to a council, tho' he did not intend to publiſh it till his ſentence of excommunication, which he now daily expected, ſhould arrive. But the eagerneſs of the public to get the writings of Luther was now become very great, and the printer ſhewing ſome copies of it, it was publiſhed againſt his will. This gave more offence than any thing that he had done before; tho' in fact this appeal implied nothing more than the ſuperiority of general councils to the pope.

The court of Rome, ſeeing the ſpirit of Luther, the applauſe that his conduct met with, and the protection of the elector, which was now declared, and who might intereſt other princes of the empire in his favour, began to think that they had acted with too much precipitation. They therefore wiſhed to gain Luther by milder methods, and in this they were very near ſucceeding. With this view the pope publiſhed a bull, November 9th, eſtabliſhing the doctrine of indulgences on the immemorial uſage of the church, but without any reflections on Luther. On the contrary, his adverſaries were cenſured for publiſhing ſome errors when they were only ſent to preach the word of God. It was expected that he would have ſubmitted to this bull, and have ſaid nothing more on the ſubject. But

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it was now too late. Luther had acquired more light, and was determined to purſue it.

In the mean time the elector dreading the power of the pope, tho' determined not to deliver up Luther, took a middle courſe, by making him with his own conſent a priſoner; and then he informed the legate that he was ready to deliver him up to any judicature that ſhould be appointed to examine him, provided it was in Germany.

When Miltitz the nuncio arrived, and found the general eſteem in which Luther was held, he dropped the deſign of carrying him to Rome, and endeavoured to reconcile him to the pope. For he ſaid that if Luther ſhould be delivered to him, he believed it would require not leſs than twenty thouſand men to conduct him to Rome. He therefore, began with praiſing the zeal and talents of Luther, and only blamed him for accuſing the pope of the extravagances of other perſons. He ſaid that, as a monk, he owed ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee, and aſſured him that the pope was ready to receive him into his favour, that he had already ſhewed his forbearance in deferring the ſentence of excommunication, and that, as he had promiſed to ſubmit to the pope, he ought, if he was ſincere, no longer to refuſe his retractation, now that the pope had decided in favour of indulgences. He alſo highly complimented the elector, and mentioned

the great reſpect the pope had for him, as he ſaid he had ſhewn him by ſending him the golden roſe, which he brought with him.

In order to gain his point with Luther, the nuncio reſolved to puniſh Tetzel, and with this view ordered him to meet him at Altemburg. Tetzel declined this interview, but Luther went thither, and met the nuncio at the houſe of Spalatin, in the beginning of January A. D. 1519. There the nuncio ſpared nothing to flatter, and at the ſame time to intimidate Luther, but he could not prevail upon him to ſubmit implicitly to the judgment of the pope. However, Luther believing that they now really wiſhed that the differences ſhould proceed no farther, propoſed that they ſhould be referred to ſome prelates in Germany who ſhould have private orders to delay the deciſion till the affair ſhould be forgotten, and thus ſave both the pope's honour and his own; and he named the archbiſhop of Salztburg as one of his judges.

In this ſtate of things the elector at firſt thought of writing to the pope, to apologize for his conduct and that of Luther too; but on ſecond thoughts he declined it. Miltitz went to Leipſic in his way to Coblentz, to meet Cajetan, without whoſe concurrence he had orders to do nothing definitively. And being informed of ſome ſcandalous

conduct

conduct of Tetzel, who was then at Leipsic, he reproved him, and also his superior, with so much severity, that believing that he was to be made a sacrifice to the reconciliation of Luther with the pope, he was reduced to a state of despair. Luther hearing of it wrote the letter of submission to the pope which he had promised, and he did it in language expressive of the greatest humility, only declining to make a formal retractation of what he had written, as that would, indeed, be of no avail to the holy see, but of real prejudice to it. He acknowledged the power of the pope as only inferior to that of Jesus Christ, and promised to exhort all persons to honour the see of Rome, and justify it from the prophane exaggerations of the preachers of indulgences, and never more to touch upon the subject, provided his adversaries would renounce their impostures. In short, he engaged to do any thing to give his holiness satisfaction.

This is usually considered as a most lamentable weakness in Luther, and a base compliance with the court of Rome. But his opinions were not as yet absolutely fixed with respect to the authority of the church of Rome, at least that of councils, on which it was in a great measure founded; and he was willing to comply as far as he could with the wishes of his most respectable protector. Also he, like other good men, dreaded the conse-

quences of ſuch a ſchiſm as would be made in the church if he had not taken this ſtep. That Luther had any fears on his own account by no means appears. But if he had, they were the feelings of human nature, mixed with conſiderations of more importance. It was not, however, without a great conteſt with himſelf that he complied thus far. For he was then reading the decrees of the pope, in order to prepare himſelf for the diſputation at Leipſic, which will be mentioned hereafter, and he told Spalatin, who informed him of the wiſhes of the elector, that they made him doubt whether the pope was not either antichriſt, or his apoſtle, ſo miſerably was Jeſus Chriſt crucified in theſe decrees. He added, "I am cruelly tormented to ſee the peo-"ple thus impoſed upon on the pretence of the "laws of Chriſt, and the chriſtian name." But if it was weakneſs in Luther to make ſuch a ſubmiſſion, it was folly in the extreme in the court of Rome not to take advantage of it.

The progreſs of the reformation was at this time favoured by a circumſtance of an external nature, as it will be ſeen it was ſeveral times afterwards. The emperor Maximilian died in the beginning of the year A. D. 1519, and in the interregnum the elector of Saxony was vicar of the empire, not only in upper and lower Saxony, but in ſeveral other provinces; and the univerſal eſteem in which he

he was held was in ſome meaſure reflected upon Luther. It was alſo then in his power to afford him effectual protection, and it was known that he would do ſo. His writings were now read with the greateſt eagerneſs, and his diſciples were aſtoniſhingly multiplied thro' the whole empire. His courage and his doctrines were equally admired, and all perſons wiſhed to know ſomething more of him. On this account there was a great reſort of perſons from all parts to Wittemberg, and many were heard, with their hands joined, and their eyes lifted towards heaven, thanking God that that city was become another Zion, from which the light of the goſpel would be diffuſed over all the world.

In the mean time, the elector of Treves, being an eccleſiaſtic, accepted the office of the judge of Luther, and the elector of Saxony was requeſted to ſend Luther to him. But he made ſo many reaſonable objections to his cauſe being decided by him alone, which indeed had not been the propoſal of Luther, and eſpecially in the preſence of Cajetan, who would certainly have directed all the proceedings, that the elector of Saxony propoſed to bring him to the diet of the empire, which was to be held at Frankfort, to have the cauſe decided there; and this was acceded to; Luther

abſolutely

abſolutely refuſing to make an unconditional retractation, which they again endeavoured to bring him to.

Luther was now much encouraged by the great increaſe of his reputation, and not only in Germany, but in all parts of Europe, where his writings were eagerly read, and with general approbation. He was more particularly flattered by a letter from Frobenius, the famous printer of Baſil, and ſtill more by one from Eraſmus, informing him of this circumſtance. He could not, he ſays, expreſs the alarm which his writings had occaſioned among the monks, who, he ſaid, mortally hated literature, as fatal to their theological majeſty, of which he ſaid they make incomparably more account than of that of Jeſus Chriſt. He deſcribed their malice, and calumnies in the ſtrongeſt language, and ſaid that they inſinuated that he himſelf was the real head of the faction, and even aſſiſted him in his compoſitions. But he ſaid he ſhould endeavour to act a neutral part, as more uſeful to literature, and becauſe he thought that greater advances would be made by prudence and moderation than by too much vehemence.

Such was the uniform maxim of this great man who by the hints that he had occaſionally given in a fine vein of irony, concerning the abuſes of the court of Rome, and the frauds of the monks, was hated

hated by the bigoted catholics as much as Luther himſelf. He afterwards owned that he had not, like Luther, the ſpirit of a martyr. Eraſmus alſo wrote to the elector, to tell him that the morals of Luther were held in general eſteem, and that his writings were every where read with the greateſt avidity; a teſtimony which had no ſmall weight in determining this prince to protect him.

At this time the Franciſcans holding their chapter at Jutterbach, in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg, took that opportunity of expreſſing their zeal for the church by their condemnation of fifteen propoſitions extracted from the writings of Luther. But ſuch was the confidence he now had in himſelf, and in his friends, that he anſwered them with a threat, that if they did not retract what they had advanced, he would expoſe them and their order, in ſuch a manner as ſhould make them repent of it. Eckius writing in defence of the Franciſcans, Luther replied in an *Apology*; which was afterwards publiſhed, on which Eckius publiſhed thirteen propoſitions againſt the doctrine of Luther, and Luther anſwered in thirteen others, in one of which he ſaid that the authority of the pope was only ſupported by the decrees of the popes themſelves, and that to theſe might be oppoſed the ſcriptures, hiſtories of approved credit, eleven hundred years old, and the canons of the firſt council of Nice.

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The court of Saxony began now to be ſeriouſly alarmed, and Spalatin being deſired to inform Luther of it, he replied that, after the riſk which he had run, he had no doubt of the divine protection; that he was informed the court of Rome was ſo much diſturbed, that they had recourſe to their uſual arms of defence, poiſon and aſſaſſination; that if it had not been for his regard for the elector and the univerſity of Wittemberg, he would have declared his whole mind with reſpect to Rome, or rather that Babylon which was ſo oppoſed to the ſcriptures, that one or the other muſt be renounced. He added, "I always declared that I was ready "to withdraw myſelf rather than involve our prince "in the dangers that threaten me. As to myſelf, "I ſhall not avoid death, tho' in my Apology I "ſufficiently flattered the court of Rome, and the "pope." However, in order to give ſome ſatisfaction to the court of Saxony, he publiſhed an explanation of one of his theſes, in which he admitted the ſuperiority of the church of Rome over other churches, but only on the foundation of the conſent of the people, which, however, he allowed to be ſufficient for the purpoſe.

Eckius, who ſaw Luther at Augſburg, challenged him and André Rodenſtein, generally called Carolſtadt, from the place of his birth, to a public diſputation, which was accepted, and leave was obtained

obtained of George duke of Saxony to hold it at Leipſic, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the univerſity and the biſhop. Accordingly the diſputants appeared in that city June the 8th, and the diſputation commenced on the 18th in the hall of the caſtle. It began between Eckius and Carolſtadt on the difficult ſubject of *grace*, which Carolſtadt maintained to be in the ſtricteſt ſenſe neceſſary to all good works, and Eckius with certain limitations. This diſpute continued ſeveral days without any great advantage on either ſide.

After this Eckius challenged Luther, and their diſputation commenced the 14th of July on the *authority of the pope*, in which Luther maintained from the ſcriptures, that Peter had no ſuperiority over the other apoſtles; but being unwilling to deny the authority of general councils, he was embarraſſed when he was urged with their decifions. He did not abſolutely deny the doctrine of purgatory, but intimated ſome doubts on the ſubject. In diſputing concerning indulgences, he did not deny the infallibility of the church in matters of faith, but he maintained that this was not a queſtion concerning faith, and that he only condemned the abuſes that had been introduced into it. And Eckius ſaying that, tho' indulgences were not to be deſpiſed, they ought not to be too much confided in, Luther replied, that if all perſons had held

held that language he ſhould have kept an eternal ſilence on the ſubject. After this they paſſed to queſtions concerning repentance, abſolution, and ſatisfaction. When Luther had done, Carolſtadt and Eckius diſputed two days on the ſubject of grace and free-will; but nothing deſerving of much notice was advanced by either of them.

This diſputation, which was publiſhed, terminated like moſt others, each party claiming the victory. The audience in general were diſpoſed in favour of Eckius. But the conſquences were injurious both to the pope, and to Luther. The reading of the acts of this diſputation, opened the eyes of many perſons with reſpect to the foundation of the power of the pope; but on the other hand, Luther was thought to favour the opinions of Wickliffe and Hus; and as the Bohemians lay under a great odium, he of courſe partook of it, and was with many conſidered as a heretic. This diſputation produced many writings, and among others Melanchton's account of it to Œcolampadius, which was anſwered by Eckius, and defended by its author with ſingular judgment and moderation. Eckius alſo wrote to the elector, perſuading him to burn the writings of Luther, and Luther publiſhed an explanation of his theſes. It was on this occaſion that, not being able to reconcile James and Paul on the ſubject of juſtification, he

ſaid

ſaid that the ſtyle of James was below the majeſty of an apoſtle, and not to be compared to that of Paul; ſeeming to intimate a doubt of the authenticity of the epiſtle of James; but he afterwards ſaw his error in this.

This diſpute brought forth the moſt dangerous enemy that Luther ever had, Jerom Emſer, a profeſſor of canon law in the univerſity of Leipſic. Writing to a Romiſh doctor in Bohemia, he ſaid that Luther entertained the ſentiments of the Bohemians. On this two of the Bohemian brethren wrote to him, exhorting him to avow and defend the truth, and ſending him a book compoſed by John Hus, and that from which the articles of his condemnation had been drawn. This letter being anſwered by Luther, gave occaſion to a report that he was in ſtrict correſpondence with the Bohemian brethren. But he defended himſelf from the imputation in a letter to Emſer, in which he ſaid, that his moſt zealous friends were thoſe who had no connection whatſoever with the Bohemians.

In all this time the reformation was greatly promoted by the writings of Eraſmus, eſpecially by his new verſion of the New Teſtament, and his edition of the works of Jerom in A. D. 1519. This gave great offence to the divines of Louvain, who engaged Dorpius to write againſt him. But Eraſ-

mus replied with ſo much effect, that Dorpius made an ingenuous retractation of what he had advanced; and afterwards he with great force recommended the ſtudy of the ſcriptures in their original languages, in preference to Logic and the Metaphyſics of Ariſtotle, which he ſaid conſumed all the time of ſcholars to no good purpoſe whatever.

At the diet at Frankfort in A. D. 1519, the elector of Saxony gained great honour by refuſing the imperial dignity which was unanimouſly offered him; the electors not having been able to agree in the choice of either of the competitors Francis I, king of France, or Charles king of Spain. But Frederic declining that honour, and declaring for Charles, turned the ſcale in favour of the latter; ſo that the elector had at the ſame time the honour both of refuſing, and of giving, the imperial dignity. Charles wrote him a letter of acknowledgment, and requeſted his care of the affairs of the empire in his abſence. In what manner he requited the family of this great elector will be ſeen hereafter. Miltitz now preſented the elector with the golden roſe, but he did not think proper to receive it in perſon, but appointed another perſon to go through the formalities of receiving it in his name; * and when he was urged to proceed

* The ceremony of conſecrating a golden roſe, and ſending it to princes and perſons of diſtinction, ha

proceed againſt Luther, with intimations of his incurring the indignation of the pope, he declared that he ſhould take no part in the buſineſs.

Luther was all this time proſecuting his ſtudies, and continually getting more light. He began to entertain doubts with reſpect to the number of the ſacraments, auricular confeſſion, communion in one kind, and ſome other articles. But ſtill, in his *Commentary on the Galatians*, publiſhed this year A. D. 1519, hoping to accommodate matters with the pope, he repeated his proteſtation of obedience to the ſee of Rome. In public he continued to explain the pſalms and the goſpels.

About this time the reformation was greatly advanced by Ulric Zuinglius, who indeed began to explain the ſcriptures in a manner very hoſtile to the church of Rome in A. D. 1516, before the name of Luther had been heard in Switzerland. This extraordinary perſon was born in A. D. 1481, in a village near the Lake of Zurich, of which his father was bailiff. He ſtudied theology at Baſil under Thomas Witternbach, a man who was well

 aware

its origin in the 11th century; and it is generally aſcribed to Urban II, who in A. D. 1095 gave it to Fulk count of Anjou. Others aſcribe it to Leo IX, about fifty years before this. *L'Enfant's Piſe*, Vol. 1, p. 325.

aware of the abuſes of the times, and eſpecially that of indulgences, which he combated as occaſion ſerved, and who was diſguſted with ſcholaſtic theology. When he had finiſhed his ſtudies, Zuinglius was choſen paſtor of the church of Glaris, and there he preached ten years, applying cloſely to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures and the Fathers, and there he learned Hebrew.

In this ſituation he laboured much to enlighten the minds of his pariſhioners, but more to reform their worſhip; and he particularly endeavoured to diſſuade the Switzers from furniſhing troops for pay to foreigners, by which he got many enemies. From Glaris he was invited to the church of Notre Dame of the hermitage, the moſt celebrated in all Switzerland, in A. D. 1516. Here he was in a very conſpicuous ſituation, on account of the great number of pilgrims that reſorted to it; but his method was to inculcate truth, rather than directly expoſe error. But while he was at Glaris, he had written to the biſhop of Conſtance about the reformation of abuſes. He had alſo ſpoken of them to the biſhop of Sion, a prelate who was himſelf very ſenſible of them.

The reputation which Zuinglius acquired at the hermitage, was the occaſion of his being invited to Zurich, Decr. the 10th, A. D. 1518. There he began with explaining the goſpel of Matthew, being

then thirty four years of age, having declared his reſolution not to preach in the uſual manner, but to follow the method of the Fathers, and to explain the ſcriptures by themſelves; and in this he united courage with prudence. In this year he oppoſed the Franciſcan Samien, who publiſhed indulgences, and he was commended at firſt by the biſhop of Conſtance, who encouraged him to proceed with firmneſs, aſſuring him of his ſupport. In return, he exhorted the biſhop to favour the progreſs of truth, which was now burſting upon them on all ſides, in ſuch a manner that it was not poſſible to reſiſt it. After this, however, the biſhop grew cool, and rather thwarted the endeavours of Zuinglius, tho'he was ſufficiently diſguſted with the pride and arrogance of the court of Rome.

Zuinglius alſo addreſſed himſelf to Antonius Pucci, the pope's legate in Switzerland, and had four converſations with him on the ſubject, in which he openly propoſed his views; declaring that he ſhould expound the ſcriptures in ſuch a manner as would give a great ſhock to the pope. In this laſt ſituation of Zuinglius, his labours as a preacher and a lecturer, as well as in other ways, were very great, and expoſed him to much danger both from the Catholics and the timid friends of truth and liberty. Many attempts were made up-

on his life, but they were fruſtrated by the care of his friends and of the magiſtrates, who placed guards near his houſe every night. His greateſt enemies, as thoſe of Eraſmus and Luther, were the monks, in conſequence of his having adviſed the magiſtrates to let the monaſteries fall after the deceaſe of the preſent members, and to employ the revenues of them for the uſe of the ſtate. He alſo obtained of the magiſtrates an order to all the eccleſiaſtics to preach nothing but the pure word of God, and to omit every thing ſuſpected of novelty. All this paſſed before any thing was heard of Luther.

That Zuinglius was a perſon of ſome note and character as a ſcholar, is evident from his receiving money from the pope's legate while he was at Glaris, to buy books, and his having been made acolyte, and chaplain to Leo X, who with all his faults was a lover of learned men.

SECTION

SECTION III.

The Progreſs of the Reformation from the Acceſſion of Charles V to the Empire, to the Citation of Luther to appear at the Diet of Worms.

IT is ſomething remarkable that Luther began his reformation independently of any thing that had been done before him, ſo that he was truly a great original in that way. He ever dreaded the reproach of hereſy, and it was by ſlow degrees that he was brought to any connection with thoſe who had been denominated heretics; but the affinity between his doctrines and thoſe of the Huſſites in Bohemia could not but ſoon be perceived, and all his enemies eagerly propagated reports of his connection with them. Some colour was given to them by the publication of a ſermon this year, in which he expreſſed a wiſh that the church aſſembled in general council, would reſtore the cup to the laity. The biſhop of Miſnia cenſured this piece, and forbad the reading of it in his dioceſe, and the duke of Saxony wrote to the elector

to complain of it. But he anſwered with great prudence, that he did not take upon him the defence of any of the writings of Luther, tho' there were perſons of acknowledged piety and good ſenſe who ſaw nothing reprehenſible in them.

Luther eaſily defended himſelf from this accuſation in two publications. The firſt bore the title of *an Apology*, in which he ſhewed that the Bohemians could not be called heretics on account of their receiving the communion in both kinds, becauſe they did it with the conſent of the church; nor could he be called a heretic for having expreſſed a wiſh that the communion in both kinds might be reſtored, unleſs Pius II was a heretic for having wiſhed that the prieſts might be allowed to marry. The ſecond piece contained a refutation of the ſentence of the biſhop of Miſnia, in which he was very ſevere on two or three eccleſiaſtics, whom he conſidered as the authors of it. This publication was diſliked by the electoral court, and the impreſſion of it was ſtopped for fear of provoking the pope.

This interference of the court diſpleaſed Luther, and what he wrote to Spalatin on the occaſion diſcovers his firmneſs and the juſtneſs of his way of thinking. "You would have me," he ſays, "continue to teach, but how can this be done without offending the pope. The ſcriptures con-

"demn

"demn the abuſe of ſacred things, and the popes "will never bear the condemnation of the abuſes "of which they are the authors. I have devoted "myſelf to the ſervice of God, and may his will "be done. Let us leave this buſineſs to him, and "make ourſelves eaſy. What can they do? They "may take my life, but this I cannot loſe more "than once. They may defame me as a heretic, "but was not Jeſus Chriſt condemned by the "wicked? Every time that I meditate on the ſuf-"ferings of our Saviour, I am concerned to perceive "that my trials appear ſo great to many perſons. "This comes from our not being uſed to ſuffer, "that is, to live as the diſciples of Chriſt. Let "them do what they pleaſe. The more they en-"deavour to deſtroy me, the more I deride their "efforts. If I did not fear to involve our prince "in my deſtruction, I would write all I think "without reſerve, in order to provoke them the "more."

At this time the new emperor was expected in Germany, and it was thought that he would be favourable to Luther, as it was well known that the pope had oppoſed his election. He therefore addreſſed a reſpectful letter to the emperor, in which, however, he expreſſed himſelf with proper firmneſs, explaining his ſentiments, and expreſſing the hope he had of his protection, concluding with

ſaying, that if there was any thing that would do honour to his memory in future ages, it would be his not ſuffering the wicked to trample upon the righteous. But previous to this he had adopted other conciliatory meaſures. He had made a public proteſtation of his reſolution to live and die in the communion of the catholic church, that he was ready to renounce all diſputation in order to employ himſelf in more uſeful works, and to appear before any eccleſiaſtical or ſecular judges, provided he could have a ſafe conduct; praying the public to excuſe his faults, ſince he aimed at nothing but the edification of the church, and the diſcovery of truth.

In a ſhort time after he wrote with the ſame ſpirit of moderation to the archbiſhop of Mentz, and to the biſhop of Merſberg. The anſwer he received from the former was mild, and did the writer much honor He had the greater expectation from this prelate, in conſequence of a letter which Eraſmus had written to him the year before, as it was a complete juſtification of his conduct, and a condemnation of that of his enemies. It ſhewed at the ſame time the neceſſity of a reformation. This letter Eraſmus, agreeably to his uſual caution, wiſhed to be kept ſecret; but Ulric of Hutten, who was then at the court of the biſhop, made it public, which gave the author much concern. In this

this letter he made heavy complaint of the mendicant friars, as the great ſupporters of ſuperſtition, and whoſe practices would exterminate all chriſtian piety. In mentioning their artifices, he referred to the hiſtory of Jetzer at Bern. Eraſmus alſo wrote to the elector of Saxony to the ſame purpoſe adding that ſuch was the artifice of the monks, that as they ſaw all the learned to be againſt them, they endeavoured to perſuade the people that the ſtudy of languages, of eloquence, and of literature in general, was the ſource of the hereſy of Luther and his great ſupport.

Theſe two letters were of great ſervice to Luther, as the writer was univerſally eſteemed both for his knowledge and moderation; ſo that the cenſures of the univerſities of Cologn and Louvain, which were now publiſhed, did Luther leſs harm than the teſtimony of Eraſmus did him good. Indeed, Luther's own replies to theſe cenſures were ſo bold and juſt, as to be of great ſervice to his cauſe. In them he mentioned a number of moſt reſpectable perſons whom they had cenſured, eſpecially Eraſmus and Reuchlin, ſaying it was the opinion of all the learned that they had loſt nothing of their juſt reputation, having been calumniated by men whoſe pride and paſſion were equal to their ignorance, and that whatever advantage they had gained over ſuch men had been by their intrigues, or their authority. At

At this time, however, Luther did not wiſh wholly to aboliſh the authority of the pope, thinking it might be of uſe to preſerve the unity of the weſtern church; but he was deſirous of moderating its authority, ſince it was become tyrannical, and the avarice and ambition of the court of Rome encouraged thoſe abuſes which were the ſource of their wealth. To accompliſh this end he this year publiſhed a treatiſe in the German language, addreſſed to the emperor and the nobility of the empire, in which he ſapped the foundation of the papal tyranny by arguments which went further than his own views. The foundations of this tyranny he ſaid were three. 1. The prerogative which the clergy aſſumed over the laity, whereas the ſcriptures made no ſuch diſtinction as then prevailed between them, and laymen might exerciſe the functions of the chriſtian miniſtry in caſe of neceſſity. 2. The right which the popes claimed to determine the ſenſe of ſcripture, when they were as liable to error as other men. 3. The ſole power of calling general councils, which properly belonged to the princes, and had been uſurped by the popes.

He then gave a detail of the abuſes of the court of Rome, and propoſed the means of rectifying them; and this he did in ſo able a manner as appeared extraordinary in a man who had been educated

educated at a diſtance from the buſineſs of the world. He particularly expoſed the pretenſions of the popes to the giving of the empire to the Germans, after taking it from the Greeks. On the contrary, he ſhewed that they had revolted from the emperors, whoſe ſubjects they were. He alſo dwelt upon their artful and unjuſt methods of exhauſting Germany. He acknowledged, however that the popes had a ſpiritual authority over the emperors, as they preached the word of God, and adminiſtered the ſacraments, which Ambroſe did to Theodoſius. But, ſaid he, "Let the emperor "ſhew at length that he is emperor and their ſove-"reign, and let him not be ſurpriſed by the tricks "of Rome. Let him not ſuffer the pope to ſeize "upon his authority, and take from him the ſword "which God has put into his hands."

Tho' theſe things were well known before, the emperors not having been ignorant of their rights, this work of Luther's made a great noiſe. The friends of the court of Rome were inexpreſſibly enraged, and the friends of Luther trembled for him; thinking that after ſuch an affront the pope would never forgive him. This publication was, however, of ſervice to him with the nobility, but hurt him with the eccleſiaſtics in general, who were not pleaſed to ſee themſelves reduced to a level with the laity. He was much urged by his friends

to

to ſuppreſs this piece, but he ſaid it was impoſſible, and four thouſand copies were ſoon ſold. He added, "We are perſuaded, that the papacy is the "ſeat of Antichriſt, and we expoſe his impoſtures." He did not, however, mean any thing more at this time than to reduce the power of the pope within due bounds.

At this time the elector of Saxony having ſome buſineſs to manage at Rome, in which he did not ſucceed to his wiſhes, was told that he could not wonder that it went ſo ill while he protected ſuch a man as Luther. But he anſwered, that he had never arrogated to himſelf the right of judging Luther, and was far from defending him; and that he had let him alone, on his aſſurance that he was ready to defend his opinions before a proper tribunal, as ſoon as he ſhould have a ſafe conduct for that purpoſe; that Luther himſelf had voluntarily propoſed to leave his eſtates, but that the legate Miltitz had oppoſed the meaſure, fearing that he might write with more freedom in ſome other place. In order to prevent their proceeding to the excommunication of Luther, he obſerved that Germany was not now what it had been, that it abounded with learned men, that all perſons were paſſionately bent upon reading the ſcriptures; and that if the court of Rome was determined to treat Luther with rigour, it might occaſion a revolution as fatal to the pope as to others. The

The pope, ſomewhat intimidated by this remonſtrance, wrote to the elector, praiſing him for his moderation, but ſtill ſpeaking of Luther as the moſt wicked and deteſtable of all heretics, who had no miſſion but from the devil. He further informed him that the doctrine of Luther had been condemned in a congregation held for that purpoſe, and that if he did not retract in the time preſcribed he deſired the elector to ſecure his perſon.

About this time Luther found other friends and protectors in Germany. Sylveſter de Schaumberg, a nobleman of Franconia, and Francis Seckingen, a perſon of great wealth and influence in the empire wrote to him, deſiring him not to take refuge in Bohemia, as that would make his cauſe generally odious; but they aſſured him that there were an hundred gentlemen who were determined to protect him from any injury till his affairs ſhould come to ſome regular deciſion. Theſe friends, gained by nothing but the juſtice and goodneſs of his cauſe, greatly encouraged Luther to deſpiſe the thunders of the court of Rome, and he ſignified to the elector, that it might anſwer a good purpoſe to intimate this to his friends at Rome; hoping it might ſtop the excommunication which he knew was preparing againſt him. He added, "As for "myſelf, my determination is taken. I equally

"deſpiſe

"deſpiſe the favours and the frowns of Rome. I "will have no peace or communion with them. "Let them condemn me, and burn my books if "they will. I will condemn and burn their de- "crees, and renounce forever all ſubmiſſion. I "have gone too far in this way to recede. I "doubt not God will finiſh his work either by "me, or by ſome other."

Luther did not, however, always retain this degree of courage. About this very time, or not long after, he wrote to Spalatin to requeſt his mediation in the buſineſs; ſaying that he would agree to every thing except an abſolute retractation, ſubmitting to the brand of hereſy, and the deprivation of his liberty to preach the word of God. He had, however, he ſaid, an aſylum in the hearts of the Germans. We cannot wonder at this vacillation in a man whoſe temper was naturally violent, and therefore ſubject to extremes, in a coujuncture of ſuch great difficulty and importance.

All this time Luther continued to write, and now he publiſhed a book which ſurprized by its title, and not leſs by its contents. It was entitled, *De Captivitate Babylonica*, in which he treated of the ſacraments, as nothing had contributed more to raiſe and maintain the authority of the pope than their number and ſuppoſed efficacy, and his excluſive power of adminiſtering them. In this work

work he reduced the ſacraments to three. baptiſm, the euchariſt, and penance, tho' this laſt he ſaid was not properly a ſacrament. He maintained on clearer ground than he had done before the right of communion in both kinds; but tho' he denied the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, he retained that of the *real preſence*; ſaying that, as the divine nature of Chriſt became fleſh without the fleſh being changed into the divine nature, ſo the bread became the body of Chriſt without any change in its ſubſtance. This doctrine was called *conſubſtantiation*, and Luther illuſtrated it by the compariſon of fire being in the ſubſtance of hot iron, where both ſubſiſted together. In this work he took great pains to prove that the euchariſt was no proper ſacrifice, and therefore that no perſon can offer it for another, that therefore the prieſt can no more communicate for the people, than he could be baptized for them. Conſequently, that all aniverſaries, maſſes for the dead, or for the living who are abſent, and the foundations which ſupported them, ought to be aboliſhed, which would ruin an infinite number of prieſts and monks, who had no employment beſides the celebration of ſuch maſſes. With reſpect to ſacraments in general, he ſaid that they did not juſtify, but the faith which men have in the promiſe of God; as Abraham was

not juſtified by circumciſion, becauſe he was juſtified before he was circumciſed.

In the mean time Miltitz, whoſe intereſt it was not to offend either the court of Rome or the elector, was indefatigable in his endeavours to bring about a reconciliation; and for this purpoſe he applied to the archbiſhop of Treves, to whoſe judgment Luther had made no objection. But this prelate, perceiving the difficulty of the buſineſs, referred him to the approaching diet. He then applied to the chapter of the Auguſtins, and they appointed Stupitz, who had reſigned the office of their vicar general, and Vinceſlas Lincius, who had ſucceeded him, to confer with Luther for the purpoſe. Accordingly they both went to Wittemberg, and actually prevailed upon Luther to promiſe that he would write to the pope, aſſuring him of his filial ſubmiſſion; and Miltitz was overjoyed at this ſucceſs. But in the mean time Eckius arrived from Rome; and having brought the bull of excommunication, Luther changed his opinion, and informed Spalatin, that as he had not actually written the letter which he had promiſed to write, he would not now do it. This letter to Spalatin is dated Oct. 3.

This was a great mortification to Miltitz, but he did not yet deſpair. He applied again to Luther, and promiſed the electoral court that, if Luther

ther would abide by his promiſe to the Auguſtins, he would procure the bull to be revoked or moderated, in one hundred and twenty days. On this Luther again conſented, and promiſed to write to the pope within twelve days a letter that ſhould be dated the 6th of September, that it might not appear to be written after the arrival of the bull, or extorted for fear of the excommunication. Miltitz's deſign was to go himſelf to Rome before the expiration of the one hundred and twenty days, and negociate the buſineſs with the pope. Luther then actually wrote his letter, and ſent it to the pope together with a book he had juſt publiſhed on the liberty of a chriſtian, in which he maintained the ſeeming paradox that a chriſtian is at the ſame time ſubject to no one, and yet ſubject to all the world, taking advantage of the ſaying of Paul, *tho' I am free, I am ſervant of all.* This work gave offence to ſome, as favouring ſedition, and was incautiouſly written. The court of Rome might, however, have borne with it if it had been capable of moderation, or had conſulted its intereſt.

But the conduct of Miltitz was by no means approved at Rome. It was thought that he had acted with too much meanneſs; and Eckius, who was then at Rome, had ſo boaſted of his ſuperiority in the conference at Leipſic, and ſo exaggerated the hereſy of Luther, that he ſucceeded in procur-

ing a bull againſt him, which, after much difficulty with reſpect to particulars, it was agreed ſhould contain a condemnation of Luther's doctrine in forty one propoſitions, but ſhould allow him to retract in ſix days. All the books which he had ever publiſhed, or that he ſhould publiſh, were ordered to be burned, and all chriſtian princes were exhorted to ſeize his perſon and his adherents, after that time ſhould be expired, with a promiſe of a reward for ſo great a ſervice, and an interdict was laid upon any place to which he ſhould retire. In this bull Luther himſelf is treated as the greateſt of heretics. The pope, however, expreſſes his extreme concern for the ſtate into which this hereſy had brought the German nation. Even the compoſition of this bull, tho' exceedingly elaborate, did no credit to the compoſers of it; the periods being uncommonly long, and perplexed with parentheſes, as well as objectionable on many other accounts.

Ulric de Hutten, a nobleman of Franconia, but a man of letters, and deeply impreſſed with the prevailing abuſes of the times, cauſed this bull to be publiſhed, and at the ſame time expoſed its defects, adding at the cloſe of his remarks the words of the pſalmiſt, pſalm 2. *Let us break their bonds aſunder, and caſt their cords from us.*

Eckius

Eckius having obtained the character of nuncio, returned to Germany with this bull; but his reception was very different from his expectations; and at Leipſic, where he had diſputed with Luther, and where he hoped to have met with the greateſt applauſe, he was worſe treated than in any other place. Even the duke of Saxony forbad the publication of the bull without an expreſs order from the biſhop of Merſberg; and when it appeared the people and the ſtudents tore it in pieces, and threw it into the dirt. Eckius himſelf was ſo much inſulted that he took refuge in the monaſtery of the Dominicans. Leaving Leipſic in the night, he preſented the bull to the univerſity of Erford; but there it was not received on the pretence of the want of ſome formality. In this place alſo it was torn, and thrown into the water, and the ſtudents kept him beſieged in his own houſe.

The biſhop of Bamberg made the ſame objection to the reception of the bull that had been made at Erford, and the biſhop of Eickſtadt, where Eckius was a canon, was the firſt who at length publiſhed it. The biſhop of Merſberg deferred the publication till April in the year following, and the biſhop of Miſnia, the moſt violent againſt Luther, did not do it till the 7th of January. At Vienna it was not publiſhed till Eaſter in A. D. 1521, and then the ſenate ordered all the

people to withdraw before the reading of it. The biſhop of Brandenberg, tho' accompanied by the elector, and Albert duke of Mecklenberg, went to Wittemberg to publiſh it there; but finding the favourable opinion the people there had of Luther, and both the elector and the duke his brother ſpeaking favourably of him, they left the place without doing any thing in the buſineſs.

Thus encouraged, we are not ſurprized to find that Luther treated this bull with contempt. At firſt he thought to adviſe the elector of Saxony, who was then at Aix, attending the coronation of the emperor, to obtain an imperial reſcript, forbidding the condemnation of him till he ſhould be convinced of hereſy out of the ſcriptures. But finding by a letter from Eraſmus that the emperor was ſurrounded with monks, who had prepoſſeſſed his mind againſt him, he did not wiſh to expoſe his maſter to the inconvenience of a refuſal, and thought it would be better that he ſhould appear to have no knowledge of the matter. The firſt ſtep that he took was to attack Eckius, in a work in the German language, in which he expoſed his vices and hypocriſy, and for the firſt time openly vindicated John Hus; having now read his books, and approved of them. He alſo renewed his appeal to a general council, the pope having condemned him without giving him a hearing. The

pope

pope himſelf he treated as a tyrant, an apoſtate, and antichriſt, and conjured the emperor, and the ſtates of the empire, to reſpect his appeal, and ſuſpend the execution of the bull till he ſhould be heard and convinced of his errors out of the ſcriptures.

Not content with this, he attacked the bull itſelf in two publications. In the firſt he gave the lie to the pope, who had ſaid that he made him an offer of money to defray the expences of his journey to Rome. On the other hand, he ſaid it was well known that there was a ſum of money in the hand of ſome bankers, to reward the villain who ſhould aſſaſſinate him. Keeping, therefore, now no meaſures with the pope, he ſaid, "If you do "not renounce your blaſphemies and impieties, "know that not only I, but all who ſerve Jeſus "Chriſt, regard your church as the damnable ſeat "of anti-chriſt, which we will not obey, and to "which we will not be united. We ſhall bear "with joy all your unjuſt excommunications, and "even voluntarily devote ourſelves to death. But "if you perſevere in the fury with which you are "now actuated, we condemn you, and deliver you "to ſatan, with your bulls and your decretals." In the ſecond publication he defended the propoſitions which the court of Rome had condemned.

In the mean time the pope's bull had been received at the univerſities of Cologn and Louvain, and in conſequence of it the writings of Luther were publicly burned in thoſe cities. This was on the day on which the emperor ſet out from Spain. The ſame was attempted at Antwerp, but without ſucceſs. Thoſe who undertook to do it at Mentz were in great danger, hardly eſcaping the rage of the people. In other places the monks purchaſed of the magiſtrates the liberty of doing it, and it generally coſt them dear. In return Luther, accompanied by the doctors of the univerſity of Wittemberg, with the ſtudents and the people, having lighted a great fire, threw into it the pope's bull with all the decretals; at the ſame time pronouncing theſe words, "Since thou haſt troubled the "holy one of God, may eternal fire conſume thee." This was tranſacted December 10, A. D. 1520.

Luther followed this bold action with a public juſtification of it, in which he alleged, that, being a doctor in theology, it was his duty to prevent the increaſe of impiety, and that all the world ought to be informed, that he, Luther, convinced that the pope was anti-chriſt, had thrown off his yoke, and was reſolved to ſacrifice every thing to the truth which he had taught. In this work, which he entitled *an Apology* he inſerted thirty propoſitions drawn from the decretals, and

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ſhewed them to be impious. They were ſuch as theſe. "The ſucceſſors of St. Peter are not ſub-"ject to the command which this apoſtle gave to "all the faithful to obey the temporal powers; that "the pope has all power in heaven and in earth; "that he can abſolve from all oaths and vows, that "he does not depend upon the ſcriptures, but that "the ſcripiures derive ther authority from him," &c. &c. &c. He concluded with quoting Rev. xviii. 6. *Do unto Babylon as ſhe has done unto you, render unto her double.* The next day, in lecturing on the Pſalms, he diſcourſed on the neceſſity of renouncing obedience to the pope, telling his pupils that there was no medium, and that they who aſpired to the miniſtry of the goſpel, muſt either expoſe their lives in reſiſting the reign of error, or renounce eternal life; and that he had taken his own meaſures accordingly.

In the mean time the pope uſed his utmoſt endeavours to gain the elector, and for this purpoſe had appointed two nuncio's, whom he ſent to Germany to wait upon him. One of them was Alexander, a perſon of Jewiſh extraction, biſhop of Brindiſi. He was a man of whom Luther ſaid that tho' born of a Jew, he was not of the ſect of the Phariſees, living as if he diſbelieved the reſurrection of the dead. his life was ſo notoriouſly profligate. The other was Carraccioli, ſent more

particularly to congratulate the emperor on his arrival in the low countries. Both theſe nuncio's applied to Frederic, and after a long preamble, acquainted him with the requeſt of the pope, which was that he would order the books of Luther, and himſelf alſo, to be burned, or at leaſt that he would keep him in cloſe cuſtody, if he did not chuſe to ſend him in irons to Rome, which would be moſt agreeable to his holineſs.

The elector heard them both with great patience and replied that he would conſider of the buſineſs. And after a few days he commiſſioned his councellors to tell them, that he had determined to have nothing to do in the buſineſs of Luther; and after repeating what he had ſaid on a former occaſion, about his ſending Luther to Augſburg, and the archbiſhop of Treves, he ſaid that people judged ſo differently of his writings, that he thought there had been precipitation in burning them before they had been examined, and he deſired the nuncio to ſuſpend the execution of the bull till the pope had granted that Luther ſhould be judged by German divines of known capacity and probity; and he ſaid that if Luther ſhould be convicted of error from the ſcriptures, he would not fail to do honour to the holy ſee, and every thing that his holineſs could require of an obedient ſon. The nuncio's ſeeing no proſpect of gaining their point with the elector,

elector, told the councellors that the pope did not wiſh to take the life of Luther.

Eraſmus being at Cologn at this time, the elector conſulted him about his conduct in this buſineſs, and in the grave and ſerious manner that was natural to him. After pauſing ſome time, Eraſmus ſaid that Luther had committed two great crimes, he had touched the crown of the pope, and the bellies of the monks, which made the elector, who before had been very grave, to laugh outright. He then ſaid more ſeriouſly, that Luther was juſtified in checking the abuſes that had been introduced into the church, and that his doctrine was right, but he wiſhed he had uſed more moderation. Soon after this Eraſmus gave his opinion more at large in writing, concluding with ſaying, that the ſtate of the empire, and the intereſt of the emperor, required that the beginning of his reign ſhould not be ſtained with blood; that it was the intereſt of the pope himſelf to have affairs accommodated; that the adverſaries of Luther had advanced things which all divines diſapproved, that now all the world ſighed for the evangelical doctrine, and that it would be dangerous to oppoſe their inclination in an odious and violent manner.

There was great boldneſs in this conduct of Eraſmus, conſidering that he had come to a reſolution

lution to be neuter in this controverſy. Dreading the conſequences of having delivered his ſentiments with ſo much freedom, he wrote to Spalatin, requeſting that the letter might be returned to him. This was done, but not till a copy had been taken of it, and this being by ſome means publiſhed gave great offence both to Eraſmus and Luther. In conſequence of this, Aleander, tho' before a friend of Eraſmus, did every thing he could to ruin him, eſpecially after having endeavoured in vain to engage him by the promiſe of a biſhoprick to write againſt Luther.

The elector, confirmed in his judgment by the opinion of Eraſmus, prevailed upon the emperor to allow Luther a hearing before he ſhould be condemned; and the emperor, highly reſpecting his character, being under great obligations to him, and indeed wanting his aſſiſtance, deſired him to bring Luther to Worms, where the diet was to be held; but he forbad him in the mean time to write any thing more againſt the pope. The elector with his uſual prudence declined having any thing to do with the conduct of Luther; who, however was far from having any objection to appear at Worms on the ſummons of the emperor, which he ſaid he ſhould conſider as the call of God; and with great piety and magnanimity he expreſſed his firm reſolution to go at all events, tho' his death ſhould be the conſequence of it.

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At this time there was a very general wiſh for a reformation. The emperor himſelf was not diſinclined to it, and this was even the caſe of ſome of the eccleſiaſtical princes. The archbiſhop of Mentz, tho' a voluptuous man, was not much averſe to it, and the archbiſhop of Treves, tho' attached to the pope, had prevented the burning of Luther's books in his dioceſe. George duke of Saxony, tho' a rival to the elector, and diſliking Luther, was ſo much perſuaded of the neceſſity of ſome reformation, that he carried to the diet of Worms a propoſal in twelve articles, which concluded with his ſaying, "We muſt labour for an "univerſal reformation, and as it cannot be ef-"fected more commodiouſly than in a general "council, we all demand the immediate calling of "one." Notwithſtanding theſe favourable appearances, the friends of Luther, who knew the ſituation of the emperor, and eſpecially how deſirous he was to gratify the pope, in order to gain his intereſt to oppoſe Francis king of France, were not a little apprehenſive for his ſafety.

However, the enemies of reformation dreaded the appearance of Luther at Worms much more than his friends, and nothing that they could do was ſpared to prevent it; and when the diet was met, Aleander on the 13th of February, delivered a flaming invective againſt Luther, in which he

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ſaid that his books were full of as many hereſies as would juſtify the burning of an hundred thouſand heretics, and declared that they could not avoid ordering them to be burned without offering an affront to the emperor, and eſpecially the elector of Mentz and Cologn. Of himſelf, he ſaid that he was not of Jewiſh extraction, but deſcended from the marquiſes of Iſtria.

But all the influence of the pope and his partiſans could not prevail upon the diet to take any harſh meaſures with reſpect to Luther, tho' they thought the authority of the pope well founded, and only wiſhed to correct the abuſes of it. The ſentiments of Eraſmus being deſired on this occaſion, he wrote his advice at large, blaming the enemies of Luther, who he ſaid were the enemies of literature, for their violence, as the cauſe of his adviſing moderate meaſures; aſſerting the neceſſity of a reformation, and ſaying that the old theology was nothing but a heap of uſeleſs ſubtleties, that the people were every where longing for the doctrine of the goſpel, and that if the ſources of this knowledge were ſhut to them, they would open them by force. In his opinion, he ſaid, the only method of terminating the differences was by the emperor, the kings of England and Hungary, who could not be ſuſpected by either party, chuſing out of their eſtates prudent and enlightened perſons

perſons to take cognizance of the writings of Luther. The pope he allowed had a right to judge in all matters of faith, but that on this occaſion he ought to decline it, and leave the buſineſs to others.

In this ſtate of things Glapius, confeſſor to the emperor, had many conferences with Pontanus, the chancellor of the elector of Saxony, the object of which was to prevent the public diſcuſſion of Luther's ſentiments, to have the buſineſs ſettled in ſome private manner, or to amuſe the people with ſome ſlight reformation. But the iſſue of the whole tended to confirm the elector in his opinion that Luther had much reaſon on his ſide, and that he ought to protect him.

The emperor, being thus aſſailed on all ſides, thought of an expedient, which he imagined would ſatisfy all parties for the preſent. It was that the books of Luther ſhould not be burned, nor yet ſuffered to be circulated, but that the magiſtrates of each place ſhould take them into their cuſtody. Accordingly, an ordonance was made to that purpoſe. But the magiſtrates ſaid that this meaſure could not anſwer any good end, ſince the doctrine of Luther was not now confined to his books, but was fixed in the minds of the people, from which it was not in their power to force it. They, therefore, thought that the better way

way would be to require him to retract what he had written, and that if he refuſed, they would employ all their force to ſecond his majeſty's intentions, but they added their intreaty, that he would correct the abuſes by which the court of Rome was ruining Germany. This advice was approved, and the emperor gave orders for the citation of Luther, and alſo that a memorial ſhould be drawn up of the abuſes complained of.

Notwithſtanding this ſeeming moderation, it ſufficiently appeared that the emperor was gained by the enemies of Luther, and he even joined with them in having recourſe to expedients unworthy of his dignity to prevent his appearance; and ſeveral things were propoſed in the diet, which, if they had been carried would certainly have prevented his journey. The emperor alſo endeavoured to draw the elector of Saxony into ſome difficulty, by adviſing him to grant the ſafe conduct. But Frederic had too much prudence to be thus ſurprized; and when the ſummoning of Luther could not be prevented, and a ſafe conduct muſt be given, not only by the emperor, but by all the princes thro' whoſe eſtates he was to paſs, he did not give his till he received an order from the emperor ſo to do. At length, not only was the ſafe conduct given in the fulleſt manner, but it was accompanied with a reſpectful letter from the emperor

emperor to him, requiring him to attend at Worms within twenty one days, there to give an account of his doctrine and his writings. No mention was made in it of retractation, or any prohibition to preach on his journey. Accordingly. he ſet out reſpectably attended, and on his way he preached at Gothen, Erford, and Eiſenach.

Still the partizans of the pope entertained ſome hope that they ſhould be able to prevent his coming, and with this view they ſpread a report which was calculated to intimidate him, and it had ſuch an effect upon his friends, that they endeavoured to perſuade him to return. But tho' he was at that time in a bad ſtate of health, he perſiſted in his purpoſe, and ſaid he would go to Worms in ſpite of all the powers of hell. When he was within three leagues of the city, he received a letter from Spalatin, conjuring him once more not to proceed any farther. But he replied that he would go to Worms, tho' there ſhould be as many devils there as there were tiles upon the houſes.

Another attempt was made to divert him from his purpoſe, by deferring the execution of the imperial ordonance to take his books into cuſtody, till the very evening before his arrival. This induced Seckingen to ſend Bucer to him, to per-

ſuade him to retire to ſome caſtle in the neighbourhood, where Glapion would be ready to confer with him on the ſubject of religion. But he replied, that only two days remained of his ſafe conduct, and that this was not ſufficient for any conferrences with the emperor's confeſſor. He therefore proceeded, and arrived at Worms the ſame day, April the 16th. His entering reſembled a triumph rather than that of a man accuſed of hereſy. A herald walked before him in his habit of ceremony, a number of courtiers, who had gone to meet him; walked along with him, and the ſtreets were crowded with people eager to ſee him. He was lodged with the miniſters of the elector of Saxony, where he received the viſits of many perſons of diſtinction.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

From the Appearance of Luther at Worms in April A. D. 1520, *to the Pontificate of Clement VII* A. D. 1523.

AT length the day, the ſubject of ſo much expectation, when Luther was to appear before the diet, arrived. It was April the 17th, the day after his arrival at Worms, when the marſhal of the empire waited upon him with an order to attend the diet at four in the afternoon. At that hour he waited upon him again, and conducted him to the diet, preceded by a herald. But the crowd was ſo great, that they were obliged to break down the palliſades of ſome gardens to make room for his paſſage. All the windows, and even the roofs of the houſes, were crowded with ſpectators.

When he was introduced into the aſſembly, he was required to ſay whether he was the author of the books aſcribed to him, and whether he would retract or defend what was contained in them. To the former he readily replied in the affirmative,

but he desired time to consider of the latter; and after some debate, he was allowed till the next day, provided he would then give his answer *viva voce*.

This delay led the enemies of Luther to think that he was intimidated; and even his friends, the elector of Saxony among the rest, were not without their fears on this head; and as he was the next day going to the hall of audience several persons were heard speaking to encourage him. One gentleman, who had been in the army, told him, that tho' he was going into a place of more danger than ever he himself had been in, he might take courage, for God would never leave him. As he entered the hall, which was at six o'clock in the afternoon, some were heard to say, "Fear not them "that kill the body," and others, "When you are "taken before kings, and governors, take no thought "what ye shall say, &c.

Being at length introduced, and again asked by the public orator, whether he would defend or retract his writings, and was insulted by saying, that so great a doctor as he was, should always be ready to answer, and not have required so much time, without taking any notice of that, he addressed the emperor and the audience in the German language; and after an introduction suited to the case of a person who had been educated far from courts, and

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the intercourſe of ſuch perſons as he was then addreſſing, he ſaid that he muſt make a diſtinction in his writings. Some of them he ſaid were works of piety, which his enemies allowed to be uſeful, tho' the pope had ordered them to be burned along with the reſt; others related to the pope and his partiſans, who by their doctrine and their example, equally pernicious, were ravaging the chriſtian world, ruining families, and deſtroying ſouls, as he ſaid cannot be denied or diſſembled. Theſe, he ſaid, he was not capable of ſuch cowardice as to retract. In his other writings he ſaid he had cenſured particular perſons, and he was ready to allow that he had ſometimes done it with too much aſperity; but that farther than this he could not make any conceſſion. He was ready, however, he ſaid, to retract any thing that he ſhould be ſhewn by the word of God to be an error; and he conjured the aſſembly to inform him of them, declaring that then he would burn his books himſelf.

He was well aware, he added, both, of the danger to which he expoſed himſelf, and of the evils that would ariſe from the difference of opinion and conduct which would be occaſioned by his writings; but this, he ſaid, was in the order of providence. Chriſt himſelf ſaid that he was not come to bring peace upon earth, but a ſword, and to

put diviſion between the neareſt relations. He concluded with ſolemnly warning the audience not to defeat their own purpoſe by proſcribing the word of God, and thereby bring a deluge of evils upon the empire, which would make the reign of their young prince, from which they had formed ſuch great and juſt expectations, a very unhappy one. He then intreated their protection, and that they would not ſuffer the clamour of his enemies to prevail over their regard to equity.

Having ſaid this in the German language, he was required to ſpeak in Latin, and this he did with the ſame readineſs and firmneſs. When he had concluded, the public orator, with much indignation, replied, that he had not anſwered the queſtion that had been put to him; he muſt ſay diſtinctly whether he would retract, or not; nor muſt he call in queſtion what had been decided in general councils. To this Luther replied, that he muſt be convinced of error by proofs drawn from ſcripture, or from plain reaſon; he would not yield to the authority of popes, or of councils, both of them having fallen into manifeſt errors and contradictions. Being perſuaded that he had taught the truth, "I cannot," he ſaid, "retract upon any "article. This is my final reſolution, I ſhall take "no other. So help me God."

After

After he was withdrawn, and the princes had conſidered his ſpeech, he was called in again; when the orator told him that his anſwers to the queſtions that had been put to him were deemed to be neither decent, nor to the purpoſe; that the diſtinction that he had made in his writings was uſeleſs, as he had only to retract thoſe that contained errors; that it was unreaſonable in him to expect to be confuted out of the ſcriptures, when he revived errors which had been condemned in the council of Conſtance, at which the German church had aſſiſted; that the emperor commanded him to ſay diſtinctly, whether he would maintain what he had advanced, or retract it. Luther, however, perſiſted in his reſolution; and as he finally withdrew, the Spaniards belonging to the emperor's houſehold followed him with hootings. But his friends received him with the warmeſt congratulations, and eſpecially the elector of Saxony, who ſaid to Spalatin, that he had always feared leſt Luther would have been intimidated by ſuch an aſſembly; but then, full of joy and admiration, he ſaid to him, "How well Luther has "ſpoken, both in German, and in Latin, he has "ſhewn all the courage that he ought to have "done, and perhaps too much."

The day following the emperor, who was beſet by the emiſſaries of the pope, produced in the

the enemies of Luther; and, on its being reported that he was aſſaſſinated, it appeared by the conſternation excited by the news, that he had more friends than his enemies wiſhed him to have, and that it was impoſſible to deſtroy him by proſcription.

The friends of the pope, however, did not fail to endeavour it. The emperor, being wholly governed by their councils, iſſued an edict on the 26th of May, after the friends of Luther were purpoſely tired out with their attendance at the diet, and had left it, but dated the 8th, as if it had been dictated while the diet was full, in which Luther was treated in the moſt opprobrious manner; being ſaid to be the devil himſelf, who had taken the form of a man, and of a monk, to conceal himſelf and deſtroy mankind; that the emperor had perhaps gone too far in hearing a man who had been condemned by the pope, who was obſtinate in his errors, and was acknowledged to be a heretic. He therefore condemned and baniſhed him as the author of ſchiſm, and an obſtinate and notorious heretic, and directed that every perſon ſhould endeavour to apprehend him, and to put him under lawful cuſtody. He alſo ordered all his books to be deſtroyed. *Sleidan*, p. 49.

By this meaſure the emperor gained the friendſhip of the pope, and drew him off from the intereſts

eſts of the king of France. This, and not his zeal in the cauſe of religion, was, no doubt, the true reaſon of this proceeding. The edict, however, had no effect. No inquiry was made after Luther, and the emperor did not appear to be ſolicitous about it; which made ſome perſons think that he himſelf was in the ſecret of his ſeizure.

Luther, in the mean time, was at his eaſe, more reſpected than ever, and employed in writing more books. He would have wiſhed however, to have had more liberty, tho' attended with more danger. Being tired of his ſolitude, and his health ſuffering from it, he wrote to one of his friends, that he had rather be put upon burning coals for the glory of God, the ſtrengthening of his own faith, and the faith of others, than remain there alone, in a ſtate of confinement, hardly alive, and rotting in a diſmal ſolitude, before he was buried. In this ſituation it gave him much concern to hear that when the canons of Erford would have driven from their body one of their brethren on the pretence of his being a Lutheran, the ſtudents roſe and plundered ſome of their houſes, and ſet fire to them, and that the inſurgents were not puniſhed. He was far from being pleaſed with this mark of popular favour; being of opinion, that the true method of eſtabliſhing the goſpel was by patient ſuffering.

Towards

Towards the end of this year appeared Luther's anſwer to Ambroſe Catharin, a Dominican, who had written in defence of the authority of the pope and his brother Prierias; a work which he had compoſed before his journey to Worms. In this work he not only expoſed the fallacy of the argument from the words of Chriſt, *thou art Peter*, but he applied ſome paſſages of Daniel, and ſome prophecies of the New Teſtament, to the riſe, progreſs and character of the pope, in ſuch a manner that the hiſtorian ſays, it was aſtoniſhing that he ſhould have lived twenty five years after this. He alſo ſhewed the impropriety of applying the word *church*, and the character of *without ſpot and blameleſs* to the clergy, excluſive of the chriſtian laity. But the firſt work that Luther compoſed in his retreat was on the ſubject of auricular confeſſion, the evils ariſing from which he expoſed, as Eraſmus had done before him. And in this work he vindicated the freedom of his writings from the cenſures that had been thrown upon them on that account.

At this time the faculty of divinity at Paris publiſhed a cenſure of one hundred and four propoſitions extracted from the writings of Luther, which was anſwered by Melancthon, who effectually expoſed the abſurdity of the cenſure; eſpecially their ſaying that Luther had adopted all the antient hereſies,

reſies, and their defence of the ſcholaſtic theology, which Luther had attacked. Speaking of the commentary of John Major on the ſentences of Peter Lombard, then much celebrated by the divines of Paris, he ſaid, "I will not judge of the "morals of this perſon, but, Good God, what a "heap of nonſenſe do I find in his works. How "many pages does he employ about the queſtion "whether a horſe be neceſſary to riding (*aller a* "*cheval*) Can we be ſurprized if ſuch ſophiſts as "theſe be unfavourable to Luther." He adds, however, that there were doctors of the Sorbonnæ who were not diſpleaſed with the doctrine of Luther.

At this time alſo Luther and Melancthon, or rather the latter only, called in queſtion the propriety of the law for the celebacy of the prieſts. Melancthon was not in orders, and married; and had no doubts on the ſubject, but Luther had, eſpecially with reſpect to monks, whoſe vows were voluntary. The controverſy was heightened by the curé of Kemberg, a Saxon, a man of learning and good character, publicly taking a wife, which gave great offence to many; but Melancthon defended his conduct with great zeal, and ſhowed that the eſtabliſhed cuſtom was novel, unjuſt, and tyrannical, as well as the ſource of many diſorders.

At this ſame time Luther wrote againſt the obligation of monaſtic vows, a treatiſe which gave

great

great offence, tho' written with much moderation; adviſing perſons not to renounce their vows raſhly, as a great abuſe of their chriſtian liberty. The court of Saxony ſuppreſſed this book, ſo that it did not appear till ſome time after. The court alſo ſuppreſſed another tract of Luther's againſt the archbiſhop of Mentz, for ſuffering the preaching of indulgences, and for impriſoning a prieſt for marrying. This piece was written with much unjuſtifiable intemperance. He even threatened the archbiſhop, tho' a cardinal, and prince of the empire, that if he did not put a ſtop to the preaching of indulgences, he would fill him with confuſion by a treatiſe which he had then ready for the preſs, and he would allow him no more than a fortnight to conſider of it. The archbiſhop, however, anſwered with great mildneſs; aſſuring him that he had given orders to do what he wiſhed to have done. In anſwer to Capito, who was with the archbiſhop, and a friend to reformation, but who was diſpleaſed with the freedom that Luther had taken, he endeavoured to vindicate his conduct, but it was in a manner that gave little ſatisfaction.

While Luther was employed in writing in his place of retreat, a reformation of the public worſhip took place at Wittemberg. This had not been attempted by Luther, who was of opinion that

that previous to this, the minds of the common people ſhould be fully enlightened on the ſubject, and that then it would be accompliſhed without difficulty, but that otherwiſe there would be great danger of tumults. This important buſineſs, however, was begun in the monaſtery of Auguſtins, which was full of monks who came to ſtudy in the univerſity, drawn by the reputation of Luther. Many of theſe, at the head of whom was Gabriel Didymus, were of opinion that private maſſes and maſſes for the dead ſhould be immediately laid aſide, and the communion in both kinds reſtored. He was oppoſed by the prior, and an appeal being made to the court of Saxony, they were deſired to wait the orders of their provincial.

Thirteen monks, however, had already left the monaſtery, becauſe the prior would have compelled them to ſay maſs as uſual; and they being joined by ſome of the ſtudents, and citizens, the elector ſent Pontanus to inquire into the matter, and deputies from the univerſity and the chapter were appointed to hear the reaſons of thoſe ſeceders. Theſe they gave in writing, and being conſidered by the elector, he appointed Chriſtian Beyer, a burgo-maſter of Wittemberg, who was alſo a profeſſor in the univerſity, and a chancellor, to repreſent to them the neceſſity of proceeding

with caution in a buſineſs of ſo much importance, eſpecially as much inconvenience would ariſe from the heirs of the founders of public inſtitutions claiming the eſtates that had been granted for ſervices which would now be diſcontinued. To this they made a reply which was reported to the electoral court, which was not a little embarraſſed with the buſineſs.

At length, however, Carolſtadt, a few days before chriſtmas, celebrated maſs in the pariſh church in the German language, and ſome diſturbance was occaſioned by it, which made the people apprehenſive of the reſentment of the emperor, the regents being particularly attentive to every thing that paſſed at Wittemberg. But it was found abſolutely neceſſary to yield in ſome meaſure to the wiſhes of the people. Some of the changes that were moſt eagerly called for were made. The monks were forbidden to beg, and the images were removed from the church. The chapter of the order being now held, a medium was ordered to be obſerved; the monks being left at liberty to leave the monaſtery or not, and maſſes for the dead were diſcontinued. Thoſe of the monks who were able were directed to preach, and the reſt to ſubſiſt by their labour. Luther being informed of theſe regulations made by the chapter, was greatly rejoiced; and in a work which he now compoſed, but which

which was ſuppreſſed by order of the court, on the abolition of private maſſes, he congratulated his brethren of the order upon them.

It was in A. D. 1522 that the Anabaptiſts, who were the occaſion of ſo much diſturbance in Germany, firſt made their appearance. A draper of Zuichaw in Miſnia, called Nicolas Storch, was at their head. Being choſen by his brethren of the ſame perſuaſion, he choſe twelve apoſtles, and ſeventy two other diſciples. Next in authority to him were Marc Stubner, Martin Cellarius, and Thomas Muncer, * who was afterwards at the head of the revolted peaſants in Thuringia. This Muncer preaching in a ſeditious manner in the church of St. Catharine, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the paſtor, the duke of Saxony had him put in priſon; but Storch, Stubner, and Cellarius, fled to Wittemberg. Theſe men pretending to immediate revelations, as a fulfillment of the prophecy concerning "the effuſion of the ſpirit upon "all fleſh," both Carolſtadt and Melancthon were much taken with them. The elector did not approve of them, but he ſaid on this occaſion, that

* Muncer was not concerned in the firſt inſurrection of the peaſants; but believing their cauſe to be juſt, he drew up a manifeſto for them. It is applauded by every writer who mentions it. Voltaire ſaid a Lycurgus would have ſigned it. *Robinson*, p. 548.

he would abandon every thing, and ſet out with his ſtaff in his hand, rather than oppoſe the goſpel.

Luther was more upon his guard than Melanchon, and ſaid that they ought to prove the ſpirits before they gave credit to their pretended revelations. Melanchon, however, who was more credulous, and perhaps, we may add, leſs jealous, received Stubner, who had ſome knowledge of letters, into his houſe; and theſe fanatics preaching publicly, ſoon gained many followers among the common people, which alarmed Luther, and induced him to write to the elector that he was determined to leave his retreat and return to Wittemberg. The elector endeavoured to prevent this, but in vain. Luther, with uncommon firmneſs, explained to him the reaſons of his conduct; ſaying that his retreat had retarded, inſtead of advancing, the progreſs of the goſpel. He deſired the elector to leave him to himſelf; ſaying that his cauſe ought not to be defended by force, that if the emperor came to ſeize him, he ought not to be reſiſted.

With this the elector acquieſced, and with his concurrence Luther publiſhed a letter in juſtification of his conduct, in coming abroad; which he ſaid was to promote the reformation which he had begun, and to prevent the diſturbances which were

taking

taking place in his flock. Accordingly he left the caſtle of Wartburg, and arriving at Wittemberg, the 6th of March A. D. 1522, he was received with every expreſſion of joy. He immediately declared himſelf much offended at the alterations made by Carolſtadt in the public worſhip, and pleaded for every perſon being left at full liberty to conform to them or not, and on the whole, ſeemed to diſcover ſomething of jealouſy of Carolſtadt, as having interfered in his province of ſole reformer.

The ſtates of the empire being aſſembled at Nuremberg the 17th of March A. D. 1523, the biſhops made great complaints of the protection afforded to Luther by the elector of Saxony, particularly the biſhop of Straſburg, who ſaid that the greateſt part of his prieſts were Lutherans. The duke of Saxony was at firſt exceedingly violent, but at length the buſineſs was conducted with more moderation, and the diet being prorogued till October, the farther conſideration of it was referred to that time.

About this time Luther had an interview with Stubner and his two companions at the houſe of Melancthon, when he treated them as impoſtors, and they him as one who oppoſed the work of the ſpirit, and they left the city the ſame day. Luther had alſo ſeen Muncer, and invited him to come

and confer with him at Wittemberg, but he did not chuſe to do it. Luther ſaid of him, that he uſed ſuch language in explaining his ſentiments as might lead perſons to take him for one who was either drunk, or mad.

The biſhops being the principal enemies of the reformation, Luther wrote a treatiſe in the German language againſt them, reproaching them with all their vices and intrigues, and concluded with a kind of bull, in imitation of thoſe of the pope, which gave great offence not only to the clergy, but alſo to the nobility, whoſe youngeſt ſons got eſtabliſhments in the rich biſhopricks. When this was objected to his ſcheme, Luther replied, "Let the younger ſons of great lords be allowed a proper maintenance, and become private citizens." The ſuperiority of the biſhops to prieſts, he ſaid, had no foundation in ſcripture, and the order ought to be aboliſhed. It is evident, however, from this conduct of Luther, that there was nothing of worldly policy in his ſcheme.

Luther had in his retreat tranſlated the New Teſtament, and it was publiſhed in September A. D. 1522. Melancthon and others having aſſiſted in the revival of it; and being recommended by the purity of the ſtyle, and the neatneſs of the printing, it was received with the greateſt avidity, and

and circulated over all Germany. He then applied himſelf to the tranſlation of the Old Teſtament, and publiſhing it in parts as they were finiſhed, the whole was not completed before the year A. D. 1530. This work contributed greatly to the advancement of the reformation. Conſequently, it gave alarm to the papal party, who did every thing they could to cry it down, but without effect. Many of the princes of the empire forbad the uſe of it, and ordered the copies to be burned.

This oppoſition on the part of the princes, led Luther to compoſe a treatiſe on the ſubject of *ſecular power*, in which he ſhewed that princes arrogated to themſelves the rights of God when they preſcribed to man what they ought to believe. He then exhorted the people not to give up their bibles voluntarily, but not to oppoſe force to force. "We are not," he ſaid, "to be ſurprized if princes "make war on God and the goſpel, ſince they have "alſo done it from its firſt appearance, ſo that a "pious prince is almoſt a miracle;" and he expreſſed himſelf with much energy and juſtice on the impoſſibility of ſuppreſſing hereſy by power. This treatiſe was compoſed by order of the elector and his brother.

In the year A. D. 1522, Henry VIII of England publiſhed a book againſt Luther on the ſub-

ject of the *ſeven ſacraments*, which he dedicated to Leo X. who, in return, gave him the title of *Defender of the faith*, retained by his ſucceſſors to this day. This work was much praiſed at Rome; but Luther in his anſwer treated it as the weakeſt production of all his opponents, tho' written in better Latin. He treated the king himſelf with ſo much freedom as offended his own friends. Duke George complained of it to the regents of the empire, and the king himſelf wrote to the elector and the dukes John and George, exhorting them to employ fire and ſword to extinguiſh the riſing hereſy. But the elector and his brother wrote a reſpectful anſwer, ſaying that they neither approved nor condemned the doctrine of Luther, and deſired him to uſe his influence to procure the calling of a general council, according to the reſolution which had been taken at Nuremberg.

Luther was by this time aſſiſted in the work of the reformation by many learned and able men. Among them was Bucer, a Dominican, almoner of Lewis the elector-Palatin, who preached at Straſburg, Oſiander at Nurenberg; and Seckingen, not only cauſed it to be preached in his own eſtates, but defended it by his writings, and before the imperial regency in A. D. 1523. So great was his zeal that, in a letter to the princes who compoſed the regency, he ſaid, that he would joyfully ſuffer the moſt

grievous

gious punishment, if his death would procure to his country the knowledge of the gospel. By the zeal of numbers in this great cause, the reformation spread itself into all places, there being no town, or almost a village, in which there was not a Lutheran preacher. Christian II. king of Denmark forbad the burning of the books of Luther. There were preachers in Bohemia, protected by the margrave of Brandenburg, and in Silesia by the duke of Munsterberg, the bishop himself not being averse to the new doctrine. This gave great joy to the elector of Saxony, who, however, would not do any thing more than leave the people at full liberty to act as they should think proper.

Leo X. died in the beginning of December, A. D. 1521, and was succeeded by Adrian VI, who had been tutor to Charles V. He had a great attachment to scholastic theology, and was a man of good morals. Being in Spain at the time of his election, he did not arrive in Rome till September, A. D. 1522. He was sensible of the corruptions of the court of Rome, and was persuaded that if they were reformed, every thing would return into its right channel. He also wished to reform the abuses of indulgences; but when the subject was viewed in every light, it was found to be impossible without such a diminution

of the papal revenues as they could not bear; and finding no encouragement or aſſiſtance in his ſchemes of reform, he is ſaid to have lamented the condition of a pope, who had no power to do what was right, tho' he endeavoured to find the means. He, however, retained his reſolution to attempt a reformation, and thought that by his own preſence in Germany, whither he intended to go, he ſhould reſtore every thing to order.

To prepare the way for this he wrote a civil letter to the elector of Saxony, exhorting him to defend the catholic faith, as his anceſtors had done, without making any mention of Luther. But in his letter to the diet of the empire, then aſſembled at Nuremberg, he did not ſpare him; but exhorted the princes, if he could not be reclaimed, to uſe the ſame ſeverity againſt Luther and his diſciples that had been done to John Hus and Jerome of Prague. This was vehemently urged by the eccleſiaſtics in the diet, eſpecially as Seckingen was then at war with the archbiſhop of Treves, at which they were all alarmed. But the ſecular princes were no leſs intent upon reforming the court of Rome than giving it ſatisfaction in other reſpects. They therefore ordered the pope's letter to be read, and in this he did not heſitate to acknoweldge that the ſource of all the evils then cemplained of was in the court of Rome, and the

conduct

conduct of the clergy, which he ſaid he was determined to do every thing in his power to reform, but that the buſineſs was of ſo extenſive and complicated a nature, that it could not be done all at once. This was a great mortification to the prelates, as it confirmed all that the reformers had written about their ignorance and debauchery.

The members of the empire, tho' urged by the eccleſiaſtics to enforce the edict of Worms, did not chuſe to do it; thinking that if Luther was ſuppreſſed, they would be at the mercy of the pope, and ſhould hear no more of the reform of any abuſes. They, therefore, agreed to ſuſpend the execution of that edict; ſaying that the only method of terminating the buſineſs of Luther, was the calling of a free council in ſome city of Germany, in which he might be heard and judged; and to the great mortification of the biſhops, they prefixed the pope's letter to their ordonance. In their letter to the pope they thanked him for his good intentions, but informed him of the great evils that would ariſe from complying with his propoſal; and they deſired of him the ſuppreſſion of annates, as the term for which they were granted was expired, and they were wanted for the occaſions of the empire.

The nuncio was much offended at the conduct of this diet, and made many objections to every article

article of their edict; but the princes paid no regard to them, and took this opportunity of drawing up an account of their grievances, which was done under an hundred heads. A ſimilar memorial had been preſented to the emperor Maximilian on this ſubject in the year A. D. 1518, in which many of the extortions of the court of Rome were enumerated, and complained of; when the ſecular princes aſſured him of their aſſiſtance in any conteſt with the pope upon the ſubject. The ſame was urged with ſome additions at the diet at Worms under Charles V, but he did not concur in the meaſure, being unwilling to offend the pope. This emperor, writing to the pope from Spain, informed him of the reſolution of the ſtates of the empire with reſpect to the annates, but inſinuated to him that the money which they wiſhed to employ in the war againſt the Turks might be uſed to chaſtiſe the followers of Luther.

While theſe things were paſſing at Nuremberg, the elector of Saxony received a letter from the emperor, requiring him to oppoſe the progreſs of the doctrine of Luther. But he ſaid in anſwer, that he did not wiſh to take any part in the affairs of Luther, eſpecially as his age and growing infirmities did not allow him to think of any thing but his repoſe and his death. At the ſame time he received a brief from the pope, reproaching him for the

the countenance which he gave to Luther and his followers, concerning whom he ſpared no terms of abuſe; reminding him that pope Gregory V. had given the electoral dignity to his family, and he concluded with ſaying, "If you refuſe to harken "to our paternal admonitions, we denounce to "you, in the name of Almighty God, and the "Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that your ſin will not remain "unpuniſhed in this world, and that you will "burn in eternal fire in the world to come. Know "that the ſovereign pontiff Adrian and the empe- "ror Charles both live, and will never ſuffer that "the people whom pope Adrian and the emperor "Charlemagne formerly begot to Jeſus Chriſt, "ſhould now periſh by the venom of hereſy and "ſchiſm under an heritical tyrant, while another "Adrian is upon the papal throne, and another "Charles is emperor. And if you and your ſub- "jects do not change your conduct, you muſt ex- "pect to feel both the ſtroke of the apoſtolic ſword "and that of the emperor."

A bull ſo violent and abſurd, calculated for an age of barbariſm, was not likely to produce any good effect in an age ſo enlightened as this; and being addreſſed to a prince who was conſidered as a model of wiſdom and piety, and every quality that can make a man reſpectable, juſtified, if any thing

thing could do it, the rude treatment of Henry VIII. by Luther. The pope's comparing himſelf and Charles V. to pope Adaian I. and Charlemagne diſcovered a ridiculous vanity, and no doubt was the true reaſon of his refuſing to change his name when he was made pope. The elector inſulted in this groſs manner, ordered the nuncio to be told that he could not receive ſuch a bull, and that it muſt have been forged at Nuremberg by ſome of his enemies. He alſo complained to the regents of the empire of the treatment he had received.

In the mean time the liſt of the *hundred grievances* was drawn up at Nuremberg by the ſecular princes, the eccleſiaſtics declining to have any thing to do in the buſineſs, which might draw upon them the anathema of Rome. After this enumeration of abuſes, they ſay that, if they were not effectually remedied by the pope, they would relieve themſelves by throwing off ſo tyrannical a yoke, and give to Germany its antient rights and original liberty. The nuncio, knowing what was preparing, would not receive this writing, but left the diet before it was concluded. The writing, however, was diſperſed over all Germany, and copies of it ſent to Rome. The elector of Saxony ſome weeks before the concluſion of the diet made a proteſt by his envoy, in which he declared that he

he would conſent to no regulation contrary to the progreſs of the goſpel, and that he was determined always to act the part of an honeſt and pious man.

At this time John Faber, a canon of Conſtance, having orders to preach againſt Luther in a progreſs through Germany, thought it neceſſary to apply to the regency for a ſafe conduct. But tho' they gave him one, it was drawn in ſuch a manner that he did not think it ſafe to make uſe of it, and laid aſide his deſign. The regents did not wiſh to encourage a ſcheme which might add to the troubles of the country. The cauſe of the reformation gained much by this means, the followers of Luther had liberty to preach without moleſtation, and the prieſts continued to exerciſe their functions tho' they were married, being only ſubject to ſuch cenſures as they deſpiſed. The ſuſpenſion of the edict of Worms made it conſidered as acknowledged to have been unjuſt, procured by the intrigues of the court of Rome, and for the intereſt of the emperor, who was diſpoſed to gratify it. Beſides, the reference of the controverſy to a future council ſhewed the perſuaſion of the diet that Luther was not altogether in the wrong. And above all the acknowledgment of Adrian, of the corruption of the clergy and the court of Rome, confirmed a great part of what Luther had advanced againſt it, while

while the promiſes of the pope to promote a reformation were not at all regarded.

Luther, pleaſed with this ſtate of things, wrote to the regency, to aſſure them of his obedience to the edict of Nuremberg, praiſing the wiſdom and the equity of the princes who had made it, obſerving that by ordering the preachers to adhere to the interpretation of approved doctors, they muſt have meant the fathers, and not the ſchoolmen; and that by the prohibition of books, they could not have meant the New Teſtament, which had no need of an approbation. He added that if he were to reveal what he had heard from all parts, of the abominable impurities that were practiſed in convents, his greateſt enemies would be the firſt to deſtroy them; and he concluded with ſaying, that he conſidered himſelf as abſolved from the anathema of the pope by the edict of Nuremberg, at leaſt till the concluſion of a council, to the deciſion of which he profeſſed his readineſs to ſubmit, tho' his life was ſo painful to him, that it ſignified little whether he was proſcribed or not. However, as the edict of Worms was not executed by the princes who favoured Luther, no regard was paid to that of Nuremberg by the princes in the oppoſite intereſt, ſo that the reformers were perſecuted, or not, according to the diſpoſitions of the civil magiſtrates.

At

At this time there was a general call for a reformation of the public forms of worship, and there being very different opinions on the subject, and different practices set up, Luther was looked up to, to interpose his authority; and finding it to be unavoidable, he did it with much prudence and moderation, retaining all that was tolerable in the old forms, and leaving much to the discretion of the person who officiated. These changes in the public forms and ceremonial of worship were violently exclaimed against by Eccius and Cochlæus; but as they discovered great ignorance, they were reproved by Cassander, who nevertheless adhered to the customary worship.

A new disposition of the revenues of churches and monasteries was also called for by the new state of things; and this, probably with the advice of Luther, was first made at Leisnitz, a small town in Misnia, where the magistrates, in concert with the abbot of the monastery of Buch in that neighbourhood, agreed to chuse every year ten persons who should receive all the revenues, and employ them on the maintenance of ministers, schoolmasters, and the poor, as also for the repair of sacred buildings; and that all begging should be prohibited, &c. &c. Of these regulations Luther published an account, recommending them in other places. With respect to the bishoprics, he rather wished that the

occupants ſhould become ſecular, than that they ſhould be deprived of their fiefs, except in particular caſes.

At the intreaty of the pope's nuncio, and of ſome princes, Eraſmus was at this time deſired to endeavour to reſtore peace to the church, and he recommended moderation on both ſides. But neither his endeavours, nor thoſe of ſome of the friends of Luther to the ſame purpoſe had any effect.

Hitherto the reformation had made a great progreſs in Germany, without the popiſh party coming to any great extremity. But the duke of Saxony, irritated by ſome letters of Luther, having diſcountenanced the reformation in his ſtates, and having tried without effect the puniſhments of fine, impriſonment, and baniſhment, now proceeded to puniſh with death; and the ſame violence of perſecution was exerciſed in many of the cities of Germany. In theſe circumſtances Luther addreſſed letters of conſolation to the citizens of Worms, Augſburg, and other places, where his friends were perſecuted, as they alſo were in the Low countries; the promoters of the perſecution there being Alexander the nuncio, ſeconded by Nicolas D'Egmond the Carmelite, and James Hochſtrat the Dominican; Margaret ſiſter of the emperor, and governeſs of thoſe provinces, lending them her authority.

Three

Three perſons, monks of Vilvoorde, not yielding to any promiſes or threats, were conducted to Bruſſels, and that their puniſhment might have the greater effect, two of them, whoſe names were Henry Voes, and John de Eſſe, were ſentenced to be publicly burned alive; after being formally degraded. The younger of them was firſt brought to the public ſquare of the city, a handſome young man, of a mild and modeſt appearance. They purpoſely employed more than an hour in degrading him, tho' he did every thing that he was ordered to do with ſurprizing quickneſs; ſaying, "I will be obedient even unto death," and all the time ſhewed the greateſt tranquility and meekneſs, which aſtoniſhed the ſpectators, and filled them with compaſſion.

When this tedious ceremony was over, and they were both brought to the pile, they ſaid, "This is the happy day which we have long waited for," and profeſſing that they died in the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and the catholic church, they embraced the ſtake to which they were faſtened, and when the fire was lighted, they began to ſing the creed, and continued to ſing till the flames ſtifled their voices; but did not efface from their countenances an air of firmneſs, and even of joy. Luther compoſed an hymn in memory of this martyrdom, which was long ſung in the churches. He alſo

wrote to his friends in the Low countries exhorting them to patience, and conſtancy, bleſſing God for the conſecration of the new harveſt, by theſe holy firſt fruits.

At this time, A. D. 1523, Albert of Brandenburg, grand maſter of Pruſſia, declared in favour of the reformation. It alſo made great progreſs in Sileſia, having been begun there by John Thurſon biſhop of Breſlaw, who died in A. D. 1520, when he was ſucceeded by James de Seltz, who followed his ſteps. The duke of Savoy was alſo much inclined to the reformation, and Luther wrote to him on the ſubject; but he was ſo circumſtanced, that it would have been peculiarly hazardous for him to have done any thing openly in favour of it.

Zuinglius had all this time been preaching with great ſucceſs in Zurich, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition that the friends of the pope could give to him, eſpecially by endeavouring to excite the other cantons againſt that. The magiſtrates, dreading the effects of theſe machinations, with the advice of Zuinglius, called a general aſſembly for the 29th of January, A. D. 1523, whom they invited the biſhop of Conſtance to attend either in perſon or by a deputy, in order to hear Zuinglius explain his ſentiments, with liberty to any perſon

to

to impugn them, provided they argued from the ſcriptures. They alſo invited the other ſtates of the union to ſend their learned eccleſiaſtics.

The biſhop ſent John Faber his grand vicar, with two other theologians, and his chancellor; and there was a great concourſe of people on the occaſion. Before this aſſembly Zuinglius propoſed his doctrine in ſixty ſeven propoſitions, which he had printed and diſperſed previous to the meeting. But he could not provoke any diſcuſſion on the ſubjects; Faber referring them to a council which he ſaid would be held ſoon, but which Zuinglius ſaid would never be held at all. At length Faber being incautiouſly drawn to diſpute about the worſhip of ſaints, and alleging no proofs but from councils, without producing any arguments from the ſcriptures, and being reminded of it, ſaid we can do without them. The magiſtrates ſeeing no good end anſwered by this aſſembly, diſſolved it, and ordered all the clergy of the city to preach nothing but what was contained in the ſcriptures, and to diſregard all human traditions, but to refrain from all invectives, and endeavour to promote peace.

The conſul of Zurich called a ſecond aſſembly the ſame year, for the ſake of diſcuſſing the ſubject of the worſhip of images, and the ſacrifice of the maſs; and this was more numerouſly attended than the former. It continued three days, on the

laſt of which Zuinglius ſpoke in ſo affecting a manner, that being in tears himſelf, he drew tears from many of the audience. In concluſion it was left to the ſenate to correct the abuſes complained of.

In this year A. D. 1523, Frederic the elector Palatin, and Lewis count Palatin of Deux-ponts, embraced the reformation, and they both reformed the abuſes in public worſhip, the latter on the plan of Zuinglius. In this year alſo the Bohemian brethren ſent one of their miniſters to Luther, to confer with him on the ſubject of their common faith; and in conſequence of it, he was led to entertain a much more favourable opinion of them than he had done before. He afterwards dedicated to them a treatiſe on the adoration of the body of Jeſus Chriſt; and after commending them for rejecting human traditions, a purgatory, and the worſhip of ſaints, he blamed them for not admitting the corporal preſence, and faith in young children, and for making holineſs an eſſential condition of juſtification. From this it is evident that the Bohemian brethren held a much more rational doctrine than Luther. He held that in baptiſm faith was communicated to young children by the operation of the Holy Spirit, in conſequence of the prayers of the church.

For

For, thinking faith to be neceſſary to baptiſm, he thought that on any other ſuppoſition, it were better not to baptize them at all.

In the year A. D. 1523 Bennon biſhop of Muſſen who lived in the time of the emperor Henry IV, was cononized, and among his merits, recited in this bull, mention is made of his ſtrenuous oppoſition to that emperor, and his unſhaken attachment to Gregory VII, when moſt of the other biſhops deſerted him. A number of miracles of the moſt improbable kind were alſo recited, and among them his appearing to the margrave William after his death, and tearing out one of his eyes. This gave a fine handle to Luther to write on the ſubject of canonization in general, and the effrontery of the pope in canonizing a rebel to his prince, and to expoſe the pretended miracles. He was anſwered by Emſer, who had written the life of the new ſaint, and boaſted of his grand inſtallation in the church of Meiſſen, fortelling that his feſtival would be perpetual. But fifteen years after this it was aboliſhed.

In the ſame year ſome nuns left the monaſtery at Nimpſchen, and among them was Catherine Bore, the ſame who two years after was married to Luther. They were conducted to Witteinberg, and the elector provided for their maintenance, as

their relations, notwithſtanding the addreſs of Luther to them in their favour, refuſed to receive them. Their example was afterwards followed by other nuns.

SECTION V.

The Progreſs of the Reformation from the Pontificate of Clement VII A. D. 1523, *to the Meeting of the Diet at Augſburg* A. D. 1526.

ADRIAN VI dying in September A. D. 1523, was ſucceeded by Julius de Medicis, the natural ſon of Julian who was murdered in A. D. 1478. He took the name of Clement VII, and was much more of a politician than his predeceſſor, tho' his refined policy was in ſeveral reſpects injurious to the intereſts of his ſee. But in theſe difficult times it is probable that no policy whatever would have ſucceeded any better. The cardinals, however, and all the friends of the court of Rome, rejoiced exceedingly on the death of Adrian, who was both hated and deſpiſed by them all,

chiefly

chiefly because he was a friend to reformation, which they dreaded. The last act of his pontificate was the canonization of Bennon above mentioned.

In A. D. 1524 all the cantons of Switzerland, except that of Zurich, assembled at Lucern January 26, when they expressed their resolution to maintain the catholic faith. At the same time they sent a deputation to the magistrates of Zurich, desiring them to restore the antient worship; but saying that, if the pope, or any of the clergy, had incroached upon the rights of the temporalty, they were willing to deliberate with them on the means of throwing off that yoke. The senate of Zurich in reply explained their principles and conduct at large, and expressed their wish, that if they had any thing to object to them, they might be informed of it in the space of two months. Having no answer, they proceeded in the work of reformation, removing the images from the churches; but for the present they left the mass as it was, waiting till the people at large should be better informed. The bishop of Constance answering the senate, they gladly laid hold on the opportunity of making their sentiments more public, that the world might judge of them.

The policy of Clement with respect to Germany was the reverse of that of Adrian. His great

aim was to elude the calling of a council, and to keep up the abuſes of the court of Rome as long as poſſible. The diet of the empire being held this year at Nuremberg in the month of November, Campegio was ſent to it with theſe views of the pope as legate. But it appeared by the circumſtances attending his journey, and his reception, that a very great change had taken place in the ſtate of things. As he paſſed thro' Augſburg, which he entered in the uſual manner, with much ceremony, the croſs being carried before him, while he gave the benediction to the people, they ridiculed him in ſuch a manner that his own followers could not refrain from laughing. To avoid the ſame inſults he entered Nuremberg in the habit of a traveller; ſo that when a few perſons of diſtinction went to meet him they were diſappointed.

When he went to the diet he was preceded only by the biſhops of Treves and of Bamberg, but by no ſecular prince whatever; and tho' while he was in the city one of the preachers in a public diſcourſe called the pope anti-chriſt, he did not think proper to call for his puniſhment. When Ferdinand reproached the ſenate of Nuremberg with their attachment to Lutheraniſm, it was without any effect, and the monks of St. Auſtin adminiſtered the Lord's Supper at this time in both kinds to more than four thouſand perſons. The queen

queen of Denmark, who was then at Nuremberg, received it in this manner. The legate had brought a very flattering letter to the elector of Saxony; but being very ill, he had left the diet before his arrival.

The principal object of the legate was to get the edict of the diet of Worms enforced; but tho' he was ſeconded by the ambaſſador of the emperor, ſo much oppoſition was made to the meaſure, that it was only carried with this addition, "as far as "it ſhall be poſſible." It was alſo decreed at this diet that the pope ſhould call a free council in Germany, and that, in the mean time, a diet ſhould be held at Spire on the 10th of November, to ſettle theſe differences, that each of the princes ſhould chooſe in his own eſtates perſons of knowledge and probity to examine the books of modern writers, and report concerning them; that in the mean time the goſpel ſhould be preached with purity and modeſty, and that every thing of a ſatirical nature ſhould be avoided. It was alſo ordered that the perſons choſen by the princes ſhould examine the grievances, a liſt of which the ſecular princes had preſented as well againſt the court of Rome, as againſt the prelates, and endeavour to find means to ſatisfy both parties; and that on their report the next diet ſhould come to ſome final reſolution.

This

This decree gave great offence to the legate, but all his remonſtrances could not prevail to have it altered. On the other hand great objection was made to it by the imperial cities, which were almoſt all inclined to Lutheraniſm, and by the counts, who differed with their princes, and entered a proteſt againſt the decree. Alſo the prelates, who by their ſuperior number had carried the decree in the diet, could not agree with Ferdinand the emperor's brother. For tho' they concurred with him in his wiſh to exterminate Lutheraniſm, they would not concede to his demand, tho' the pope had conſented to it, of one third of their revenues for the war againſt the Turks.

While the legate was at Nuremberg, there was brought before him a diſpute between the ſenate of Straſburg and the biſhop of that city, who complained that his clergy were publicly married, while they complained that for a moderate ſum he allowed others of the clergy to have concubines, which they took and diſmiſſed at pleaſure. The legate could not avoid condemning the practice of concubinage, tho' in extenuation of it, he ſaid that it was not in the power of all men to live like John the Baptiſt. But he ſaid that the marriage of prieſts was much more criminal. The magiſtrates, however, notwithſtanding this deciſion,

protected

protected the married prieſts, and endeavoured by every means to promote the reformation.

In one thing, however, the legate had more ſucceſs. He procured that the former regency of the empire, who were chiefly Lutherans, and held their ſittings at Nuremberg, ſhould be diſmiſſed, on the pretence that the funds for their maintenance were exhauſted, and other regents, all papiſts, were appointed, and they held their ſittings at Eſſingue, a city in the power of Ferdinand. The elector of Saxony hearing of this, proteſted againſt all that ſhould be done by thoſe regents, either againſt the reformed religion, or the liberties of the ſtates of the empire. The legate alſo procured by the help of Ferdinand, a league of the popiſh princes and ſtates for the defence of the antient religion, and for the ſuppreſſion of Lutheraniſm. This was called *the league of Suabia*, and tho' it did not conſiſt of more than one ſixth part of the German empire, it had diſagreeable conſequences, as it obliged the zealous proteſtant princes to enter into a ſimilar league for their own defence.

The emperor, who was then in Spain, was exceedingly diſſatisfied with the decrees of this diet, and ſignified his diſapprobation of them in a letter to the princes, in ſuch a manner as gave great offence. In his letter to the elector of Saxony, he particularly obſerved, that the calling of a general

general council belonged to himſelf and the pope, as well as the fixing on the place in which it ſhould be held. He expreſsly forbad the meeting of the diet at Spires, and ordered the execution of the edict at Worms. The anſwer of the elector was reſpectful, and he aſſured him that neither himſelf nor his brother had any thing in view but the glory of God, the progreſs of truth, and the repoſe of the empire. Tho' the emperor's letter prevented the meeting of the diet of Spires, it only irritated the princes and ſtates of the empire, and did not procure the execution of the edict of Worms. For no regard was paid to it in the greater part of Germany.

Luther was as much diſſatisfied with the edict of Nuremberg as the pope or the emperor, and he printed both it and that of Worms with remarks, in order to ſhew the contradiction between them. In this publication he abated nothing of his uſual ſpirit. He lamented the blindneſs of his countrymen and of their princes, as always tantalized by the pope, whoſe tyranny they endeavoured to ſtrengthen. He alſo reproached the emperor and the kings of England and of Hungary, with their uſurpation of the title of *Defender of the Faith*, when they were in reality making war upon the faith. He diſſuaded them from making war on the Turks, as he ſaid it would never ſucceed, if it

was

was made by perſecutors. He ſaid that he did not fear death, but that his death would be fatal to his enemies.

The good elector of Saxony, now old and dying, was much diſtreſſed at the preſent aſpect of things. The league of Suabia, at the head of which were the houſes of Auſtria and Bavaria, might do him great injury. He had alſo a near relation, George duke of Saxony, whoſe ambition would be aided by the pretence of religion; and it was the known deſign of the pope to ruin him as the chief ſupport of the reformation, and deprive him of the electorate. But at this time providence raiſed up ſeveral friends to this cauſe. The landgrave of Heſſe now openly declared for the reformation, as did Albert duke of Brandenburg, a young and courageous prince, George de Polentz of an illuſtrious houſe in Miſnia, and the biſhop of the diſtrict of Samland.

The declaration of this biſhop in favour of the reformation gave particular ſatisfaction to Luther. Writing to Spalatin at this time, he ſaid, the princes and biſhops now acknowledge that it is not Luther, a man of nothing, but Jeſus Chriſt, who is all powerful, that does theſe wonders. At this time alſo the cities of Magdeburg, Nuremberg, and Straſburg, embraced the reformation; and when the firſt of theſe was threatened by the imperial re-

gency

gency, they prepared for their defence. The reformation was alſo eſtabliſhed in Weſtphalia, in the city of Brunſwick, tho' the duke was one of its greateſt enemies, in the dutchy of Mecklenberg, in Pomerania, Livonia, Bremen, and Holſtein, and even in Leipſic, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the duke of Saxony.

In the year A. D. 1524 Carolſtadt was obliged to leave Wittemberg through the violence of Luther, who had annulled every thing that he had done during his abſence; and having procured him to be expelled Saxony, he took refuge in Straſburg, whither alſo Luther purſued him by violent letters. Their principal difference of opinion reſpected the euchariſt; Luther maintaining that the body of Chriſt was really preſent in it, whereas Carolſtadt ſaid it was ſo only by way of figure. Zuinglius and Œcolampadius taking the part of Carolſtadt, Luther wrote againſt them with great violence; and this diſpute, which continued a long time, did great injury to the cauſe of the reformation. Several perſons endeavoured to compoſe this difference, but without ſucceſs.

Eraſmus had been long urged in the moſt preſſing and the moſt flattering manner to engage in the controverſy with Luther. Pope Adrian had conjured him to do it moſt earneſtly; calling him "the only and laſt hope of the church." He was joined

joined by Campegio, and Tonſtal biſhop of London preſſed him ſtrongly on the part of the king of England. At length, in order to avoid the charge of hereſy, and fearing to loſe his penſion, from the catholic princes, tho' he dreaded the violence of Luther; after alleging his age, and making other excuſes, he undertook to write againſt what he had advanced on the ſubject of free-will. Luther endeavoured to diſſuade him from his purpoſe, tho' without ſhewing any fear of him; but at the ſame time reflecting upon him for his diſſimulation, and want of courage in defence of the truth.

This offended Eraſmus; and in his reply, he ſaid he had contributed more to the diſcovery of truth than thoſe who boaſted ſo much of their being the apoſtles of it. When this piece came out, it appeared to be written in ſuch a manner as pleaſed no party, and Eraſmus owned to his friends that in defendiug the free will of man he had given up his own. For he acknowledged to Melanchon, that it was much againſt his will that he had entered the liſts with Luther; that it was only to avoid the charge of hereſy, and avert the vengeance of the church of Rome. Luther, finding himſelf not much hurt by this treatiſe of Eraſmus, deferred his anſwer till the next year.

In A. D. 1524 Luther quitted the habit of a monk, and took that of a doctor; and the prior being the only perſon who remained with him in the monaſtery, they reſigned the revenues into the hands of the elector, as that of Hertſberg had been before; but he adviſed that the funds ſhould be diſpoſed of to pious and charitable uſes, blaming thoſe princes who ſeized upon the goods of the church.

It was in this year that William Farrel, who contributed largely to the reformation in Switzerland, came to Baſil. He was a gentleman of Gap in Dauphiné, ſtudied at Paris, and in A. D. 1522 was invited by Briſſonet biſhop of Meaux to preach in his church. But the parliament of Paris beginning to perſecute the reformers the year following, he went to Straſburg, where he became acquainted with Wolfgang, Capito, and Bucer. Thence he went to Baſil, where he propoſed a conference with the literati of the place. But his theſes appearing heretical to the heads of the univerſity, they would not ſuffer the diſputation to be in public. The ſenate, however, thinking better of them, permitted him to fix them up at the college.

In A. D. 1525, Francis I was taken priſoner by Charles at the famous battle of Pavia, and in a conſultation what uſe he ſhould make of his victo-

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ry, the biſhop of Oſmo adviſed the giving him his liberty, and treating him generouſly; for this reaſon among others, that by their cordial union the progreſs of the Turks might be ſtopped, and Lutheraniſm entirely ſuppreſſed. This meaſure, which would probably have been fatal to the reformation, was overruled by the advice of the duke of Alva and others, in conſequence of which ſuch hard terms were propoſed to Francis that he rejected them with indignation; and thus a foundation was laid for ſuch conteſts between theſe great rivals for power, as was highly favourable to the progreſs of the reformation. At the ſame time a dread of the increaſing power of Charles, who was evidently aiming at univerſal monarchy, united all the powers of Europe againſt him, and among them the pope himſelf.

The German peaſantry had long been grievouſly oppreſſed, eſpecially by the rich eccleſiaſtics, and were burdened with taxes unknown to their anceſtors. This had frequently been the occaſion of revolts, and much blood had been ſhed in the reduction of them. But the year A. D. 1525 was diſtinguiſhed by a revolt much more general than any of the preceding, eſpecially in Suabia, where the oppreſſion was the greateſt. It began on the uſual ground of civil oppreſſion; but afterwards the revolters availed themſelves of the prevailing

ſentiments with reſpect to freedom in religious matters; and by this means brought a great ſcandal upon the reformation. They demanded, among other things, the power of chuſing their own miniſters. They alſo ſaid that, as chriſtians, they ought not to be the ſlaves they had been, attached to the ſoil. They did not reject all authority of magiſtracy, but ſaid they would only obey them in things that were lawful. They claimed the freedom of hunting and fiſhing, and ſome regulations in the payment of tithes. The reſt of their demands, which made twelve articles, were intirely of a civil nature.

On this occaſion both Luther and Melanchon addreſſed the public. The latter was of opinion that the demands of the peaſants were reaſonable, and agreeable to the ſcriptures; and he exhorted the princes to behave towards them with clemency. Luther adviſed obedience to magiſtrates, however unjuſt, as Chriſt, he ſaid, bad Peter put up his ſword into the ſcabbard, and his church flouriſhed in conſequence of his bearing all the injuries that were offered to him, without making the leaſt reſiſtance. If, ſaid he, the people do not approve of the miniſters appointed by the magiſtrates, who have the diſpoſal of the revenues, they ſhould peaceably withdraw, and maintain their own miniſters; and that private perſons have no right to change

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eſtabliſhed cuſtoms. At the ſame time, however, he addreſſed the princes with great freedom; telling them that they were the real cauſes of the diſturbance, eſpecially the eccleſiaſtical princes; and he forewarned them of the judgements of God if they continued to oppoſe the progreſs of the goſpel, and of reaſonable liberty, as he ſaid they did againſt their own conſciences, and he concluded with giving excellent advice to both parties. But this advice was diſregarded by both. The revolt continued, and much blood was ſhed before it was terminated, as theſe revolts always had been, by the reduction of the inſurgents; tho' in ſome places the lords gave them favourable terms.

Among the chief of theſe revolters appeared Muncer above mentioned. He pretended to divine illúminations, declaimed againſt Luther as much as againſt the pope, and became very popular with the commonalty. He took down the names of his diſciples, and made them take an oath to extirminate wicked princes, and appoint new ones. When his deſigns were known, he was driven out of Saxony, and went to Nuremberg, and being baniſhed from that city he went to Mulhauſen, where he had ſome partiſans, and by their help he ſeized upon the place, and taking poſſeſſion of a rich monaſtery, he became the ſovereign of the city. In this capacity he decided all cauſes by

the bible, or pretended revelations to himſelf, and introduced a community of goods. During two years he only threatened the neighbouring princes, but now that the peaſants were in arms, he invited them to join him, caſt cannon, and formed an army.

One Pfeiffer, who had perſuaded him to take this ſtep ſooner than he otherwiſe would have done marched out of the city, plundered the neighbouring territory, and took ſome priſoners; but Muncer himſelf, who had put himſelf at the head of three hundred men, was defeated by Albert of Mansfieldt. Notwithſtanding this, he wrote him an inſolent letter, commanding him to abandon the corrupt doctrine of Luther, and join him. But his army being attacked by the elector John, who had juſt ſucceeded his brother Frederic, the landgrave of Heſſe, and Henry of Brunſwick, they were ſoon defeated, and Muncer and Pfeiffer being taken priſoners were beheaded with other leaders of the party. This war of the peaſants coſt the lives of fifty thouſand men.

Luther may be ſaid to have been in ſome meaſure the innocent cauſe of this war, by his invectives againſt the princes, eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, for impeding the progreſs of the goſpel; but ſeeing the advantage which the common people took of this, and the devaſtations they made in the country, he did every

every thing in his power to prevent theſe exceſſes; and writing on the ſubject, he then, with his uſual violence, exhorted the princes to deſtroy them like wild beaſts; aſſuring them that, whoever died in the war would be martyrs. Being on this accuſed of exciting the princes to an exceſs of violence, he publiſhed an apology, but it gave little ſatisfaction.

The excellent elector Frederick died May 5, A. D. 1525, juſt before the ſuppreſſion of this revolt; and before he died he exhorted the princes to uſe moderation towards the deluded multitude, and puniſh only their leaders. He was a man univerſally eſteemed for every great quality that can adorn a prince, eſpecially for his great prudence (on which account he was ſurnamed *the Wiſe*) his ſincerity, his piety, and his regard for his ſubjects. He was withal well made, and had an air of great dignity, tho' mild and condeſcending in his behaviour. Before Luther appeared he was ſo zealous a catholic, that he employed the firſt year of his reign in collecting relicks, and multiplying canons and prieſts in the church of *All Saints*, in which near ten thouſand maſſes were ſaid every year; and the number of relicks, it was ſaid, amounted to ſeveral thouſands. He uſed great caution in favouring the reformation, and did not encourage the exerciſe of the new religion till he ſaw

that it was generally wiſhed for, and the with-holding of it was in ſome meaſure the cauſe of the revolt of the peaſants. At the time of his death he was diſpoſed to grant it univerſally.

His brother John, who ſucceeded him, had not all his great qualities; but he had the ſame good diſpoſition, and the ſame firmneſs, whence he was called *the Good*, and *the Conſtant*. But in his ſon John Frederic, ſurnamed *the Magnanimous*, they were all united. He was, tho' young, prime miniſter to his father, and thinking Frederick to have been too complaiſant to the emperor and the court of Rome, he joined heartily with the landgrave of Heſſe in a reſolution to eſtabliſh the reformation at all events. Their relation, duke George, whoſe daughter the landgrave had married, was a great obſtacle to them; and they found it impoſſible to gain him. But by this time the reformation was, after ſeveral public diſputations, firmly eſtabliſhed in many cities of the empire, as Nuremberg, Bremen, Dantzig, and Zell, but eſpecially in Pruſſia.

In this year, A. D. 1525, Luther, now forty-two years old, to the great ſurprize and diſſatisfaction of his friends, married. The wife he made choice of was Catharine Bore, who had left the nunnery ſome time before, and whom Luther, tho' he had an inclination for her, wiſhed to have married

ried to another perſon, being apprehenſive of the inconveniences that might ariſe from his own marrying. But ſhe objecting to the match he propoſed, and his father wiſhing that he would marry, he yielded to his own and their inclinations. The enemies of Luther triumphed greatly in this event; and this, together with the coolneſs of his friends, diſtreſſed him much. But Melancthon encouraged him, tho' he could have wiſhed there had been no occaſion for it.

Carolſtadt, who had differed with Luther, wiſhed to return to Saxony; but he did not obtain the leave of the court till he had ſigned a retractation of what had given offence to Luther. By this means he had leave to live in a private manner, in a village near Wittemberg. But Luther urging him to make a more public declaration of his concurrence with him with reſpect to the doctrine of the euchariſt, he found it neceſſary to leave Saxony, and go to Straſburg. It being however, thought imprudent to receive him, leſt the magiſtrates ſhould offend Luther and the elector, which would have been inconvenient to them in their circumſtances, they recommended him to Zuinglius, who received him with much kindneſs. There he was made archdeacon of the principal church, and after the death of Zuinglius he was invited to Baſil, where he both preached and taught in their academy.

In the mean time Zuinglius, who, like Carolſtadt, denied the real preſence, did not think it prudent to publiſh any thing on the ſubject; but in this year, A. D. 1525, Œcolampadius, who thought as he did, and was a man of great modeſty and diffidence, wrote a treatiſe upon it, the ſale of which was prohibited by the magiſtrates of Baſil, who urged Eraſmus to anſwer it; but he appears to have thought too well of it to engage in the controverſy. It was, however, anſwered by ſome miniſters of Suabia, one of whom was Brentius. Œcolampadius replied, and Luther prefixed a preface to the work of Brentius, which was very diſreſpectful to the Swiſs; but Zuinglius and Œcolampadius made no great account of it. Pomeranus alſo wrote on the ſubject, and Zuinglius anſwered him. Various other perſons alſo appeared in this controverſy. The divines of Straſburg, deſirous of compoſing this difference among the friends of reformation, applied to Luther, propoſing that both parties ſhould content themſelves with ſaying in general terms, that Chriſt was preſent in the ſacrament, without ſaying *in what manner*; but Luther replied, that the article was of ſo much importance, that one or the other of them muſt be the miniſters of Satan.

The pope, without attempting any means of conviction or perſuaſion, bent all his policy to procure

procure the ſuppreſſion of the reformation by force. This was the object of all his treaties with ſovereign princes; as that which he made with Charles after the victory of Pavia, in which it was ſaid that the pope having infinitely more at heart the intereſts of religion than his own private advantage, ſaid that the emperor, the king of England, and the archduke Ferdinand, muſt unite all their forces to make war on the corrupters of religion. A ſimilar clauſe was inſerted in a treaty which he made with the kings of France and England, and in that which Louiſa, the mother of Francis, made with Henry VIII. Nor was it forgotten in the treaty made at Madrid, between Charles and Francis then his priſoner. But the power of truth raiſed up in favour of the reformation the common people, and ſeveral princes, which defeated the ſanguinary policy of the court of Rome.

In this year Luther anſwered the treatiſe of Eraſmus on the ſubject of free-will. But Melancthon did not approve of the ſentiments of Luther, and the Lutherans in general came to adopt the doctrine of Melancthon on this ſubject, which makes election to depend on certain conditions on the part of man. This was not, however, completely effected till the year A. D. 1580, when Hegidius Hunnius, a profeſſor at Wittemberg, defended the ſentiments of Melancthon. In the mean

mean time Eraſmus, who was roughly handled in the anſwer of Luther, made a reply, and was ſo much offended that he was ever after the declared enemy of the Lutherans, and omitted no opportunity of ſpeaking ill of them.

At the meeting of the diet of the empire this year at Augſburg, the Catholics maintained that the revolt of the peaſants aroſe from the hereſy of Luther, and that the only means of preventing new troubles was to extirpate that hereſy; and a previous meeting of the electors of Mentz and Brandenburg, Henry of Brunſwick, and his uncle Eric, who were of their opinion, at Deſſau, gave great cauſe of ſuſpicion to thoſe princes who were the friends of the reformation, that meaſures were taken to their deſtruction. They therefore found it neceſſary to form an union for their own defence, and at Salfeld they entered into a reſolution that they would never ſuffer the truth to be extinguiſhed, and informed duke George of it; complaining at the ſame time of the meeting at Deſſau. The magiſtrates of the cities of the empire alſo aſſembled for the ſame purpoſe at Ulm.

In the mean time came out the emperor's edict for the meeting of the diet the 1ſt of October, and his order for the execution of the edict of Worms; and in his letters he ſpake of nothing but the extirpation of the hereſy of Luther. To the elector

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of Saxony, however, he wrote in a milder manner, only deſiring that he would attend the diet. The regency of the empire alſo required the ſame, but he was adviſed by his friends to take care of his ſafety, apprizing him that ſeveral charges would be brought againſt him.

This conduct of the emperor, however, diſpleaſed not only thoſe princes who wiſhed for a reformation, but thoſe who had at heart the peace of the empire; being ſenſible that the ſchemes of the emperor, the pope, and the clergy, and the violence of the zealous Catholics, were the cauſe of the rigour that was exerciſed againſt the Proteſtants.

Alarmed at theſe threatening appearances, the landgrave of Heſſe and John Frederic, ſon of the elector, met in order to conſider of what was to be done; when it was agreed that it would be adviſable that all the friends of reformation ſhould make a common cauſe. They alſo agreed to repreſent to Ferdinand the inexpediency of executing the edict of Worms, and that it was more reaſonable to examine the doctrine of Luther, and approve what was good in it; and that it was abſolutely neceſſary to retain this to ſatisfy the people, and preſerve the peace of the empire. This advice was not much diſliked by Ferdinand. The elector Palatine alſo and the elector of Treves approved of it, tho' his dignity of archbiſhop obliged him to

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uſe great caution. Accordingly, the deputies of the landgrave and of the elector of Saxony were directed to remonſtrate againſt the meaſures propoſed, and to recommend the decrees of the diet of Nuremberg.

While theſe princes were thinking to ſtrengthen themſelves by alliances, directions were given to the divines of Wittemberg to prepare an apology to be preſented at the diet. This was done, evidently drawn up by Melancthon, and it concluded with declaring, that they conſidered the doctrine of juſtification by faith independently of good works to be ſo eſſential to the chriſtian religion, that there were no troubles, wars, or perſecution, that ſhould oblige any of them to deny it.

When the diet was held, it was not numerouſly attended. There was no eccleſiaſtic there except the biſhop of Trent, and but few deputies from the electors and princes of the empire. After the reading of the letters of the emperor, they were ſo far from ordering the execution of the edict of Worms, that they confirmed that of Nuremberg. They alſo recommended to all the princes that the goſpel ſhould be preached in its true ſenſe in all the churches, but without tumult and ſcandal, and they exhorted the people to peace and to reſpect their magiſtrates. They prayed the emperor to haſten the calling of a council, and his journey to Germany;

Germany; and as the aſſembly was incomplete, they prorogued the diet to the 1ſt of May. This receſs was dated January 9th, A. D. 1526, and the remarkable moderation of the proceedings in it was owing to the meaſure that had been taken by the landgrave and the elector of Saxony. Even Ferdinand, and the moſt devoted partiſans of the church of Rome were ſenſible that the peace of the empire required the abrogation of the edict of Worms.

In the mean time, as the catholic princes were forming leagues to oppreſs the reformers, theſe had a meeting at Torgau the 4th of May, when they agreed upon a league for their mutual defence, and it was concluded the 12th of June following. There entered into this alliance the dukes of Luneburg, Henry duke of Mecklenberg, Wolfgang prince of Anhalt, Gothard and Albert counts of Mansfeldt. The city of Magdeburg alſo entered into it. They had had private information that the emperor had ſent to the duke of Brunſwick letters of inſtruction to all the princes not ſuſpected of favouring the reformation, acquainting them that he had heard with great concern of the progreſs of the hereſy of Luther, but that he hoped with their aſſiſtance to extirpate it. It was this information that haſtened the confederacy of the friends of the reformation.

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At the diet held at Spire, which was opened the 25th of June, the preſident ſaid the emperor had called them together to deliberate upon the means of maintaining the antient religion, and puniſhing thoſe who oppoſed it, agreeably to the edict of Worms, which he would have obſerved. But this propoſal diſpleaſed almoſt all the aſſembly; and the friends of reformation demanded, agreeably to the reſolution taken at Nuremberg, that perſons ſhould be choſen to regulate matters that related to religion; and accordingly ſome were then named. But the ambaſſadors of the emperor oppoſed it, ſaying that they had no power to relax in any article of religion, that the emperor had cancelled the reſolutions taken at Nuremberg, and would adhere to thoſe of Worms; that he was going to Rome to be crowned, and would then conſult with the pope about the calling of a council; that he complained of the riſe of new errors every day in Germany, that factions were formed there, and that the revolt of the peaſants aroſe from the hereſy of Luther.

The oppoſition, however, from the cities prevented any compliance with the emperor's wiſhes. They inſiſted upon it that it was impoſſible to carry into execution the edict of Worms, and that the inſurrection of the peaſants ſhewed that they had to fear from ſuch rigorous meaſures; that in

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thoſe places in which the reformation was eſtabliſhed there was no ſedition, and that during the preſent difference between the pope and the emperor, there was no proſpect of the convocation of a council. They alſo made ſeveral demands for a farther and more general reformation. At length it was agreed that, till the convocation of a council, which the emperor ſhould be deſired to call within one year, the ſtates of the empire ſhould engage to conduct themſelves with reſpect to matters of religion in ſuch a manner as they ſhould be able to give a good account of their conduct to God and his imperial majeſty.

The circumſtance that happily in a manner compelled them to lay aſide all conſideration of their differences with reſpect to religion, was the application they received for aſſiſtance from Hungary, which was almoſt over-run by the Turks. This diet was the moſt numerous that had ever been known, and the elector of Saxony and the landgrave diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their firmneſs, their zeal for the reformation, and the ſtrict order in which they kept their ſervants and dependants; no riot or debauch, which had been cuſtomary, being allowed among them, while at the ſame time they paid no regard to the faſts appointed by the church. They could not obtain leave

to have their miniſters preach in the churches, but they preached in their own houſes, which were very much crowded.

In this ſtate of threatened hoſtility the moderation of Luther fully appeared. For being conſulted by the elector of Saxony, he avowed his opinion to be, that he ought not to defend himſelf by arms in caſe of an attack from the emperor, but only by remonſtrances and prayer; and that at all events he ought not to be the aggreſſor; nay, rather than that he ought to renounce his alliance with the landgrave of Heſſe.

As ſoon as Francis was releaſed from his confinement at Madrid, the pope entered into a league with him, in order to ſtrip the emperor of the ſtates he held in Italy; and for this purpoſe he abſolved him from the oath which he had taken to fulfil the articles of the treaty which he had made at Madrid. The emperor, provoked at the treachery of the pope, ſent an army into Italy chiefly compoſed of Germans, all friends of the reformation, and the general wanting money to pay them promiſed them the plunder of Rome. In conſequence of this, the city was taken by aſſault the 6th of May A. D. 1527, and plundered. The pope himſelf being taken priſoner was detained ſix or ſeven months, and made to purchaſe his liberty at a great price. However, one of the conditions

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of the treaty he made with the emperor was that he ſhould take meaſures for the extermination of Lutheraniſm. In this the emperor's view was to make himſelf abſolute in Germany. And thus the pope evaded the calling of a council for the reformation of abuſes.

In this year Zuinglius and Œcolampadius wrote againſt Luther on the ſubject of the real preſence with much moderation; but he replied with his uſual aſperity. Zuinglius, however, anſwered him with his uſual mildneſs and good ſenſe; ſaying that his innocence was at the ſame time a ſufficient anſwer to his abuſe, and enabled him to bear it.

It was in this year that the duke of Saxony, to the ſurprize of every body, expreſſed a wiſh to have a Lutheran preacher ſent to him; and accordingly the biſhop of Miſnia ſent him Alexis Croſſner, a canon of Altenburg, who had been educated under Luther; and he gave him an honorable reception, telling him that tho' he was conſidered as one who would not bear the evangelical doctrine, he would find that he was only offended at the indecent manner in which it was preached. Accordingly he continued with him three years, preaching with great freedom; and whenever he ſpoke too freely, he was only reproved by the duke in private.

Toward the end of this year the magiſtrates of Berne ſignified to their neighbours, that in the beginning of the following year there would be in that city a free diſcuſſion of the articles of religion, comprized in ten theſes, againſt the principal articles of popery, which any perſon ſhould be at liberty to canvaſs on the authority of the ſcriptures; and they requeſted the biſhops of Conſtance, Baſil, Sion, and Lauſanne, to attend with their divines. Thoſe biſhops did not attend, but there were deputeis from Zurich, Schaffhauſen, the Griſons, and ſome of the confederate cities, and ſeveral from the imperial cities of Straſburg, Ulm, Augſburgh, Lindau and Conſtance. There were were very few to oppoſe the theſes. However the diſputation continued from the 7th to the 26th of January A. D. 1528, and in the iſſue the magiſtrates of Bern aboliſhed the maſs, and removed the images from the churches. Thoſe of Conſtance ſoon after did the ſame.

In A. D. 1528, a council was held in France by Anthony du Prat, archbiſhop of Sens, the chancellor of the kingdom, and a cardinal, on account of the ſpread of the reformation in that country, many perſons then preaching in the vulgar tongue. They paſſed ſixteen decrees againſt the reformation of doctrines, and forty of reformation in articles of diſcipline. In this council, the archbiſhop imitated

ted the pope in the late council of Lateran, deciding himſelf, as by the advice of the biſhops who attended.

In this year it appeared from information communicated to the landgrave of Heſſe, by Otto de Pach a counſellor of duke George, that a confederacy had been entered into by the catholic princes of the empire at Breſlaw May 12th of the preceding year. At the head of this was Ferdinand, now king of Bohemia, to compel the elector of Saxony to baniſh Luther, and reſtore the antient religion; and in caſe of his refuſal a plan of attack was laid by which he was to be aſſailed in all directions. The landgrave was to be attacked in the next place, but he was to be treated with more mildneſs on account of his youth, and his relationſhip to duke George, who was one of the confederates. They likewiſe agreed upon the diviſion of the ſpoils. George was to have the electoral provinces, Ferdinand what he poſſeſſed in Suabia and Sileſia, and the other confederates were to have their ſhare either in territory or in money.

Upon this intelligence, of the truth of which they entertained no doubt, the elector and his friends entered into a new league the 9th of March A. D. 1528, by which they engaged to raiſe an army of twenty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, and to expoſe their lives, their honours, and

their eſtates, in the defence of their religion. They alſo endeavoured to form alliances for their ſupport, and among them with the king of Denmark, but eſpecially with the imperial cities. In conſequence, however, of the remonſtrances of Luther, the elector was unwilling to defend himſelf by force of arms: But the landgrave expoſtulating with duke George on the ſubject, both he and the reſt of the catholic princes declared that they had never entered into any ſuch league as that of Breſlaw, and that the whole was a forgery of Pach's However, being interrogated in their preſence, he perſiſted in his evidence, and being baniſhed by the landgrave he retired into Flanders, where he was in A. D. 1536 apprehended by the agents of duke George and beheaded.

The emperor, being informed of theſe proceedings, wrote a very haughty letter to the elector of Saxony, ſeverely cenſuring him for raiſing an army in conſequence of being impoſed upon by a treaty which had no exiſtence. If, ſaid he, any ſuch confederacy had been entered into, it was his buſineſs as emperor to diſperſe it. This was ſuch language as the princes of the empire had not been uſed to, as it was their indiſputable right to make peace or war at their own diſcretion, within or without the empire, without conſulting the emperor. This diſcovery, however, if it was one, probably prevented the breaking out of a war, and both

both Luther and Melancthon exerted themſelves in promoting peace. They were even determined to leave Wittemberg, if the elector engaged in any war on the account of religion. Zuinglius differed from Luther on this ſubject, thinking that force ought to be repelled by force; and ſeeing the deſign of the catholic powers to exterminate the reformation in Switzerland, he ſaid they ought to be before hand with them, and by the deſtruction of images, the diſcontinuance of the maſs, and aboliſhing the monaſteries, make it impoſſible for them to reſtore the antient worſhip.

In this year Melancthon drew a formulary of doctrine and diſcipline for the Lutheran churches, reviſed by Luther himſelf. In it they preſerved the feſtivals inſtituted in remembrance of Chriſt, and ſome in honor of the virgin Mary, the apoſtles, and a few of the other ſaints; but they added that, if any perſon was obliged to work on thoſe days, either for their own ſubſiſtence, or in the ſervice of their prince, they might do it without ſcruple. They permitted the celebration of the maſs in latin, tho' they recommended the German language. This work diſpleaſed many, and eſpecially Agricola, a miniſter of Iſlebe, who wrote on the occaſion; maintaining that chriſtians were under no obligation to the moral law. For particular care had been taken in this work to guard againſt the abuſe of Luther's doctrine of juſtificati-

on by faith alone, as if good works were unneceſſary. The ſeculars were diſſatisfied with the work, becauſe it left the clergy, as they thought, too much power; Luther and Melancthon having aimed at nothing more than to keep that power within what they thought proper bounds.

At the meeting of the diet held at Spire in A. D. 1529, tho' the prejudices of the catholics againſt the reformed appeared to be very ſtrong, they, as well the reſt, were offended at the haughtineſs of the imperial mandates ſent from Spain. Charles wrote, that being the chief in chriſtendom, he would not ſuffer his orders to be deſpiſed, that he had forbidden all innovation, and proſcribed the innovators in matters of religion; but that nevertheleſs their numbers increaſed every day on account of the decrees of the diet of Spire in A. D. 1526; but that he now informed the diet that, by virtue of the full power which belonged to him, he annulled thoſe decrees, as contrary to his intentions and orders. But no perſon ſpake more openly than the elector of Saxony, who ſaid to his ſon, that no former emperor had uſed ſuch language, and that he ought to be informed that their rights were more antient than the elevation of his family.

Notwithſtanding all that the prelates, in conformity to the wiſh of the emperor, could urge to enforce the edict of Worms, or at leaſt to reſcind

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that of Spire, not only the reforming princes, but the biſhop of Paderborn joined in oppoſing them; ſince the decrees complained of had been made in all the uſual forms, and with the conſent of the imperial ambaſſadors.

The Catholics, finding the Lutherans too powerful, very artfully endeavoured to turn the indignation of the diet againſt the diſciples of Zuinglius, generally called *Sacramentarians*; againſt whom Luther had inveighed with more bitterneſs than even againſt the Catholics. Of this Faber biſhop of Vienna and Eckius took advantage, ſpeaking favourably of the ſentiments of Luther, as proper to be tolerated till a general council; but repreſenting the doctrine of the ſacramentarians as, in the univerſal opinion, undeſerving of any favour. And as the citizens of Straſburg were generally of that opinion, and had, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the biſhop to the contrary, aboliſhed the maſs, and reformed their church, an application was made by the biſhop to this diet. But the deputies of the other cities, who in general inclined to the doctrine of Zuinglius, joining thoſe of Straſburg, remonſtrated with the Lutheran princes with reſpect to the artifice of the Catholics, and the inſignificance of the difference between them, in ſuch a manner that they agreed to make a common cauſe eſpecially as the landgrave ſaw

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in a very ſtrong light the importance of it, and was perhaps at this time himſelf inclined to their opinion, as indeed were many others. This appears from a letter of Melanĉthon to Œcolampadius at this time, in which he ſaid, "I am not ignorant how "many learned and great men are of your opinion. "Your cauſe is defended by men of ability. You "have the favour of the ſpectators, of whom ſome "approve openly, and others privately, and I "do not know which of the two are of the moſt ſer-"vice to you."

Notwithſtanding this union, the majority of voices was now for reſcinding the decree of Spire, and the Lutheran princes and cities were ſtrongly urged by Ferdinand to acquieſce in it. But they replied that this was not a buſineſs of policy or temporal intereſt, with reſpect to which they were ready to ſubmit to the will of the majority; but it affected the intereſts of conſcience, with reſpect to which every man ought to judge for himſelf. They, therefore, could not aſſent to a decree which affected its rights. They alſo alleged that it was contrary to the eſtabliſhed uſage, that a decree adopted unanimouſly ſhould be annulled without the conſent of all, and on the 19th of April they delivered a formal proteſt on the ſubject, tho' the other members of the diet would not receive it.

Luther

Luther being conſulted by the elector of Saxony, who was wholly governed by him, could not conceal the ill will he bore to the Sacramentarians. He even gave it as his decided opinion that if they were put under the ban of the empire, his maſter ought to obey the decree, and execute whatever ſhould be ordered againſt them. Happily, however, the opinion of divines of more moderation prevailed over that of Luther, and the princes were governed by them. Ferdinand, finding that he could not prevail upon the Lutherans to abandon the Sacramentarians, withdrew the promiſe he had made them; and they, in their turn, preſented on the 20th of April a new proteſt, larger than the former; and this was the writing from which they obtained the name of *Proteſtants*. The cities joined the princes, and made a ſeparate proteſt againſt the proceedings of the diet.

Notwithſtanding the unrelenting rigour of the diet, the princes were more favourable to them in the receſs, owing to Ferdinand wanting the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtant princes, both in the war with which he was threatened by the Turks, and in his endeavours to obtain the dignity of king of of the Romans. The emperor was alſo engaged in a war with Francis, who endeavoured to make a league with the Proteſtant princes. Accordingly, in the decree that was drawn up, tho' the

ſtates

ſtates that had obſerved the edict of Worms were ordered to continue to do ſo, the others were permitted to do as they had done, but were forbidden to make any more changes before the holding of a council. The Anabaptiſts, however, were condemned to ſuffer death, and another edict of the emperor againſt them was publiſhed of the ſame date with the receſs.

Tho' Ferdinand endeavoured to prevent it, the Proteſtants publiſhed their proteſt. The commiſſaries of the emperor informed him of their proceedings, and urged him to call a council himſelf, if the pope would not do it. The Proteſtants, having been calumniated to the emperor, wrote to him in their juſtification, concluding with ſaying, that were they to carry the edict of Worms into execution, they muſt become the executioners of their own ſubjects, who would yield to nothing but violence; but that, excepting what depended upon God, they were ready to obey him as emperor, to contribute to the glory of the commonwealth, and to aſſiſt Ferdinand againſt the Turks. The emperor, however, received the meſſengers who were ſent with the proteſt very ill, ſaying he inſiſted on the princes ſubmitting to the decree of the diet of Spire, and that if they refuſed to do it, he would make an example of them. He added, that it was more neceſſary than ever that the republic

lic ſhould be united, in order to repel the invaſion of the Turks; and that he would ſoon be in Germany to oppoſe them with all his forces.

The Proteſtants, not expecting a favourable anſwer, entered into an alliance, in which they engaged to defend themſelves againſt all who ſhould attack them except the emperor. But Luther was utterly averſe to making any league with the Sacramentarians, tho' the reaſons he gave for this were weak in the extreme. Among other things he ſaid that, as the confederacy was entered into for the defence of the goſpel, they muſt firſt ſee whether the Sacramantarians were of the ſame faith with themſelves; that it was impiety to enter into a league for the defence of religion, with thoſe who erred in a capital article, alleging the example of the Iſraelites, who were defeated for the offence of Achan; that many of thoſe who entered into this confederacy, depended more upon the arm of fleſh, than on God. "Beſides," he ſaid, "We cannot make a lawful alliance with thoſe who "are not fully perſuaded in their own minds, and "that the Sacramentarians are not ſo is evident "from their willingneſs to ſubmit to an examina-"nation of their ſentiments. They ought, there-"fore," he ſaid, "to write to the emperor in juſti-"fication of their conduct, by informing him that "they had aboliſhed all abuſes, that they had ſup-

"preſſed

" preſſed the Anabaptiſts, the Sacramantarians, " and all the hetorodox in general, and among " them he named Eraſmus." He added, however, more like a chriſtian, " There is no occaſion for " ſuch treaties; for that God who had protected " them hitherto without any ſuch an expedient, " would continue to protect them."

As the difference between the Lutherans and the Sacramentarians was the principal obſtacle to the confederacy which the landgrave had at heart, he endeavoured to bring them to an agreement by means of an amicable conference, and at length he procured one to be held at Marpurg, where Luther and the divines of Wittemberg, met Zuinglius and thoſe of Straſburg. The landgrave received and entertained them all in his caſtle. But notwithſtanding many ſenſible precautions of the landgrave to diſpoſe them to moderation and unanimity, he could not ſucceed. Luther, begining the conference, declared that nothing ſhould make him give up the literal ſenſe of the words *this is my body*. Accordingly, this conference, which laſted three days, produced no good effect.

As theſe divines could not agree in opinion, the landgrave propoſed that they ſhould agree to tolerate one another; and to this the Sacramentarians readily conſented. If difference of opinion be not allowed

allowed in things not eſſential, Bucer ſaid there never can be peace in the church, and there will be as many churches as there are perſons. But Luther would not agree to any toleration, and wondered, he ſaid, that the Sacramantarians had ſo little regard to conſcience as to admit of it. To ſhew the world, however, that the Proteſtants did not differ on any other ſubject than this of the euchariſt, they ſigned articles of agreement; and perhaps their union might have been carried ſomething farther, if they had not been obliged to leave the city on account of the ſweating ſickneſs which then broke out in that place.

In this conference Luther could not help acknowledging the gentleneſs and moderation of Zuinglius. It was alſo obſerved that he always quoted the New Teſtament in Greek; and Luther deſiring him to do it in Latin, or German, he ſaid that for the laſt twelve years, he had never read the New Teſtament but in the original Greek, and therefore was not able to quote it in any other language. In the iſſue of the conference it was pretty evident that, in the opinion of the landgrave and his court, Zuinglius had the advantage; ſince from that time he was inclined to his opinion, as were many others who attended the debate.

The elector not being gained, the princes met at Smalcald, joined by the deputies from the cities, could

could not effect the propoſed union. Before the deliberations took place there were preſented by the elector ſeventeen articles of faith, to be ſigned by all thoſe who ſhould enter into the confederacy, and that of the corporal preſence was one of them. But it was thought that the true motive of the elector's heſitation was his conſcientious objection to oppoſing the emperor by force. It appeared that Luther had written to him and his colleagues in the following chriſtian like manner. "It is "our part to ſuffer as lambs brought to the "ſlaughter, and to leave vengeance to God. As "for the danger with which you are threatened, it "is eaſy to God to divert it. They are the threat-"nings of the devil, which are only fatal to thoſe "from whom they come. If we be chriſtians, we "ſhould not promiſe ourſelves better treatment "than that of Jeſus Chriſt. We muſt bear his "croſs. You have done ſo already on other occa-"ons, and you have experienced divine conſolati-"on and aſſiſtance. If we perſevere in faith and "prayer, the ſame aſſiſtance will not fail us. The "Lord will find means to defend us, more cer-"tain and more effectual than our own wiſdom "and ſtrength. Be full of hope and courage, and "keep your hands pure from violence and blood. "If the emperor orders me and my colleagues to

appear

"appear before him, we will obey with the help "of God, and you will run no risk on our account, "as I have always told your brother Frederick of "glorious memory. It is not your business to "defend our faith, or that of any other person. E-"very person must defend his own, and he must "believe or not at his own risk."

Another meeting was appointed to be held at Nuremberg for the 6th of January, but this ended as the other had done; and they only agreed to wait for the arrival of the emperor before they came to any conclusion what steps to take. In the mean time the Strasburgers, who were most exposed to danger, entered into an alliance for fifteen years with the cantons of Zurich and Basil for their mutual defence, in case they should be attacked by the emperor, at which the imperial regency was much offended.

Charles having released the pope from his confinement, met him at Bologna, where they had much consultation about composing the differences with respect to religion; the emperor inclining to the calling of a council, and the pope urging the insignificance of it, and the necessity of having recourse to force. He represented to him how much more easy it would be to quell the sedition in Germany than to conquer Francis, and that the interest of all posterity depended upon his success.

" If," ſaid he, " the authority of the holy ſee is " once aboliſhed, the world will fall into anarchy, " diſcipline will be ruined, mankind will relapſe " into ſavage manners, raſh and bold ſpirits will " every day invent new hereſies, and that nothing " was more dangerous than delay when a fire was " lighted."

The emperor, tho' a young man, with great " dignity and readineſs replied, that, " after con- " ſulting many perſons of much experience and " piety, he found them all of opinion that the " church had need of a council, in which liberty " might reign and truth preſide, and that he ſhould, " therefore, never deſiſt from his endeavours to pro- " cure one." He ſaid that " all the new opinions " were not abſurd; for there was a kind of wor- " ſhip introduced into the church diſhonorable to " God, and that impiety was public and known " to all the world. It was neceſſary;" he alſo ſaid, " to form a body of doctrine which might be taught " in all churches. You are not ignorant that there " is much difference of opinion, and on ſubjects " of importance among thoſe who acknowledge " your authority."

The pope having ſaid that there were doctrines in religion that could not be explained; " This," ſaid the emperor, " muſt be falſe, and unworthy " of the ſovereign pontiff. For ſuch a revelation " would

"would be uſeleſs and miſchievous, ſerving only "to divide the chriſtian world. I am," he ſaid, "of the opinion of Theodoſius, who ſaid, we muſt "go back to primitive antiquity to arrive at the ge- "nuine doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt." He was therefore for a council which ſhould decide not by authority, but after hearing reaſon, and according to to the ſcriptures; that to decide diſputes about religion by arms without examination would be to act blindly, and in that way he might deſtroy what was good as well as what was bad, which he never would do. He concluded with expreſſing his attachment to the holy ſee, which he ſaid he had alwaysſhewn, and would preſerve on all occaſions.

The pope made no reply at that time, ſaying that he would conſult about the buſineſs with his cardinals; but in more familiar converſation afterwards, he uſed all his addreſs to diſſuade the emperor from his ſcheme of a council; obſerving among other things, that the demand for it by the heretics was only an artifice to gain time, that if that aſſembly did not decide in their favour, they would find pretences for not obeying its decrees, and that in general nothing was more dangerous than to yield to the importunity of ſubjects, as they would always paſs from one demand to another, till the prince muſt either grant every thing, or riſk a revolt; that ſuch was the love of novelty,

of independence, and the eagerneſs to ſeize the eſtates of the church, that other ſtates of the empire would be drawn into the ſame party, and the heretics would become ſo ſtrong that he would be obliged to receive the law from them; and he might perhaps think himſelf happy if, after ſtripping him of all his authority as emperor, they did not ſend him back into Spain. As to his own authority, as pope, he ſaid he had the promiſe of Chriſt, that it was founded on a rock, and would never fail; ſo that he had nothing to fear.

Tho' by theſe arguments the emperor was perſuaded to deſiſt from the demand of a general council, he could not be prevailed upon to declare war againſt the Lutherans before he had given them a hearing. He therefore wrote to the ſtates of the empire to meet him at Augſburg, April 28, A. D. 1526. He ſaid he convoked the diet in order to treat of matters of religion, that the parties ſhould be heard, and their reaſons examined; that the truth being known, and concord eſtabliſhed, there might be no more than one faith, ſimple and pure; and as they were all diſciples of one maſter Jeſus Chriſt, their common head, they might compoſe but one church. No mention was made of Luther. After this the emperor was crowned. He then wrote again to put off the diet to the 1ſt of May, and this letter was written with the ſame moderation.

tion. The proteſtants, however, were not without ſuſpicion of his deſigns from the long ſtay he made at Bologna, the ſecret interviews he had with the pope, and the oath which he took at his coronation, which was, that he would be the perpetual defender of the dignity of the church of Rome. *Sleidan*, p. 226. Beſides, they knew that there was in the treaty made at Barcelona, the preceding year a ſecret article, by which he had engaged to deſtroy Lutheraniſm.

The Lutherans were ſo much alarmed at theſe appearances, that they would have formed an army, and met the emperor, had it not been for the perſuaſion of Luther; who ſtrongly urged the unlawfulneſs of fighting for their religion, and who exhorted the elector to carry the croſs of Chriſt, ſince he had embraced his doctrine, and ſhew the ſincerity of his faith, by his patience and conſtancy.

It was, however, a ſerious queſtion, whether the proteſtant princes, eſpecially the elector, ſhould attend the diet. The emperor, they knew, had been adviſed to adopt violent meaſures, and it might have been imagined that by ſeizing the heads of the party an end might be put to the diſturbance. But it was thought that it became them, at whatever riſk, to appear openly, without fear or ſhame, as the friends of the cauſe they had eſpouſed, leſt

the leſs powerful ſhould be diſcouraged. Beſides, they were not without hope that, as the emperor was a man of good underſtanding, a young man, and had given ſome attention to the ſubject, ſomething might be gained, at leaſt by the confidence they repoſed in him, and the reſpect they ſhewed him. But tho' Luther rather wiſhed to attend the diet, it was thought proper that he ſhould not go; and in the capacity of divines the elector took Jonas Spalatin and Melancthon. They agreed, however, that their divines ſhould preach openly till they were expreſsly forbidden. But tho' there were ſo many reaſons for the union of the Zuinglians with the Lutherans, and the landgrave leaned to their opinion, he could not by any means bring Luther to make a common cauſe with them. He could not he ſaid unite with them who were in an error, and his friends dreaded to bring upon themſelves the odium under which the others lay.

SECTION

SECTION VI.

From the Meeting of the Diet at Augſburg, A. D. 1526, *to the death of Clement VII,* A. D. 1534.

AFTER this preparation, and the long ſtay of the emperor in Italy, he arrived at Augſburg, and it was contrived by the catholics that it ſhould be on the 15th of June, the day before the proceſſion of the ſacrament, when he both inſiſted upon the attendance of the Proteſtant princes in the ceremony, and that the preaching of their miniſters ſhould be diſcontinued. However, tho' ſtrongly urged, they reſolutely refuſed to obey; the margrave of Brandenburg declaring that they would rather obey God than man, and were prepared even to die for their religion, if required. Accordingly, the proceſſion was made without them, and it was obſerved that, tho' the city of Augsburg was very populous, not more than an hundred of the inhabitants attended. With reſpect to the preachers, it was at length agreed that the emperor ſhould ſilence them all, and appoint others, men of moderate characters, who ſhould preach the goſpel without controverſy. The elect-

or of Saxony attended the emperor at maſs, but not without previouſly declaring that he did it only as obliged by his office; and when the hoſt was elevated, neither he, nor any of the Proteſtants, made the proſtration.

When the diet was opened, it appeared by the ſpeech of the emperor, in which he reproved the princes for not obſerving the edict of Worms, that the councils of the legate and of the catholics had made a change in his diſpoſition with reſpect to the Proteſtants. After much debating they obtained leave to preſent their apology; but the catholic party inſiſted that they ſhould only deliver it in writing, leſt the reading of it ſhould make an impreſſion upon thoſe who never read any thing. But the Proteſtants declaring that they would withdraw it altogether if it might not be read, this was at length granted, but it was contrived that it ſhould be read in a ſmall room, where not more than two hundred perſons could attend; and for ſome time it was alſo inſiſted upon that it ſhould be read only in latin. But the elector, knowing that many of the auditors did not underſtand Latin, at length obtained leave that it ſhould be read in German, and a perſon was provided who read it in ſo loud a voice, that he was heard in the neighbouring rooms; and he read ſo deliberately, that he was two hours in diſpatching it.

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This famous confeſſion of faith, which was drawn up by Melancthon, thus diſtinctly read, made a great impreſſion on many perſons who were preſent, as they did not find in it thoſe monſtrous opinions with which the Proteſtants had been charged. The biſhop of Augſburg could not forbear crying out, "This is nothing but the naked "truth. We cannot deny it." William of Bavaria was upon this more civil to the elector of Saxony than before, and walking home with him, he ſaid he found the doctrine of the Proteſtants, very different from the account that he had received of it. Pontanus on delivering the confeſſion into hands of the emperor, ſaid in a loud voice, "This "Confeſſion, with the grace of God, who will de-"fend his own cauſe, will triumph over the gates "of hell." The emperor took the Latin copy, and ſaid that he ſhould conſider it.

This celebrated compoſition was drawn up with much care and art, expreſſing in the firſt place all the capital articles in which the Proteſtants agreed with the Romaniſts, and alſo contained their reaſons for correcting the abuſes which had been introduced into the church. The article relating to the euchariſt was ſo expreſſed as not to contradict the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. This was done on account of the emperor being reported to have ſaid, that he was not ſurprized at the

Proteſtants condemning certain practices of the Romiſh church, but that as for the *maſs*, that was *his heart.* Melancthon, therefore, paſſed over what would have given the moſt offence in their doctrine on that ſubject, as the ſacrifice of the maſs and the adoration of the hoſt. Luther did not approve of this artful conduct, tho' he did not openly object to the confeſſion. The landgrave received it, but with an explanation of what was ſaid in it on that ſubject. The emperor forbad the printing of the Confeſſion, but a great number of written copies were diſtributed, and ſent into all parts of Europe, great curioſity having been excited with reſpect to it.

The friends of the pope at this diet, acting by his inſtructions, would have puſhed the emperor to the moſt violent meaſures, or at leaſt have made him inſiſt on the Proteſtants reverting to the antient worſhip till the calling of a council, which it was well known they would not do; but the emperor perſiſted in his moderate maxims, and his whole conduct at this time was much praiſed by Melancthon. After much conſultation, the Romaniſts prevailed to have the Proteſtant confeſſion delivered to their divines, in order to its confutation, and Faber and his friends laboured at it ſix weeks.

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In the mean time, no promiſes or menaces having been ſpared in order to gain the Proteſtant princes, ſo diſcouraged was Melancthon at the difficulties they met with, that Luther wrote him ſeveral excellent letters of conſolation. "You "make no account," he ſaid, "of your own life, "but fear for the public cauſe; whereas, I make "myſelf perfectly eaſy about the cauſe, becauſe I "am perſuaded it is a good one, that of God and "of Chriſt." Reproving him for his policy, he ſaid, "You ceaſe not to torment yourſelf, without "conſidering that this buſineſs is above your light, "and your ſtrength, and that it will be carried on "without our care; and as it were by itſelf. Jeſus "Chriſt will not have the ſucceſs of it to depend "on the councils or power of man. If we are not "worthy to carry on the buſineſs, God will raiſe "up others more worthy than we."

After many delays and corrections, on account of the violence with which it was firſt written, and which diſpleaſed the emperor, the refutation of the proteſtant confeſſion was produced and read in full diet on the 3d of Auguſt. But tho' the Proteſtants, who thought it extremely weak, were refuſed a copy of it, they were on the 5th of that month required to renounce their doctrine, which they were told they had heard refuted. However, remonſtrating ſtrongly againſt this demand, without

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out having had an opportunity of reading and conſidering the anſwer of their opponents, a copy was delivered to them, but with an injunction not to tranſcribe or publiſh it,

The landgrave, not liking the aſpect of things, left Augſburg privately, on the pretence of his wife's illneſs; and this alarming the emperor, he took much pains to pacify the Proteſtants, and mediators were appointed to find ſome means of conciliation. But being choſen by the catholics, they only demanded of the Proteſtants a renunciation of their errors, and conformity to the catholic church; and ſome of them threatened the elector of Saxony with being put under the ban of the empire if he did not. The Proteſtants were ſo far gained, or intimidated, that at length they promiſed that, provided they were allowed the communion in both kinds, the marriage of their prieſts, and the celebration of the maſs as they had reformed it, they would yield obedience in other reſpects. And Melanchthon, writing to Campegio the legate on this occaſion, after thoſe propoſals were rejected, ſaid, "If our prieſts had obtained "theſe articles, they would have ſubmitted to the "biſhops, the church would have been reunited in "one body, and the ſee of Rome would have pre-"ſerved its authority."

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But this compliance did not pleaſe Luther. He ſaid that if he were in their place, he would yield nothing; and they had better come to extremity than conſent to reſume the ſmalleſt of the ſuperſtitions; but ſince they would amuſe them with the illuſory promiſe of a council, he adviſed them to oppoſe artifice to artifice, and endeavour to obtain a toleration by appealing to that chimera of a council which would never be held; that the emperor would think twice before he would engage in a doubtful war, and that it was impoſſible to come to an agreement without a ſacrifice of the truth. "In ſhort," he ſaid, "all your projects of "agreement diſpleaſe me infinitely, becauſe it is "altogether impoſſible, unleſs the pope conſent to "aboliſh his authority.

The magiſtrates of the cities alſo remonſtrated againſt thoſe conceſſions. Even the proteſtant princes did not approve of the advice of the divines, and Pontanus wrote on the margin of that paper that he could not acknowledge the authority of the pope, becauſe he pretended it to be of divine right, when he was really the antichriſt foretold by the apoſtle Paul.

The anſwer they at length returned was, that they would obey the biſhops as far as the word of God would permit. They perſiſted in their demand of a council, and ſaid that, in the mean time,

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it would anſwer a good end if the emperor would name deputies of both parties to confer together. On which he named ſeven on each ſide, two princes, two lawyers, and three divines. But theſe commiſſaries not being able to agree, the emperor himſelf endeavoured to bring it about, and he propoſed that a council ſhould be called, and till that every thing ſhould be reſtored to its former ſtate. The Proteſtants replied that they were not the innovators, but had reſumed the antient faith, that they wiſhed for a free council, but that they could not reſtore the abuſes which they had condemned in their confeſſion, and their people were too much enlightened to receive them.

At this time the Proteſtants and catholics equally wiſhed for a council. The abuſes in eccleſiaſtical matters were ſo flagrant, that they could not be concealed; but the pope had good reaſons to dread the aſſembling of one on his own account. He was a baſtard, which was by many thought to be a ſufficient diſqualification, and his election was ſaid to have been ſimoniacal, on account of a promiſe that he had made to the cardinal Colonna. He had alſo been the means of enſlaving his country of Tuſcany, and was properly the author of the bloody wars by which Italy had ſuffered. And the cardinals were as much afraid of a council as himſelf. He therefore alleged, that the time was not

not convenient, as the peace was not yet eſtabliſhed, that freſh commotions were expected from the Turks; but he ſaid that he would yield to the requiſition of the emperor, provided the council was held in Italy, and the Lutherans and other heretics would engage to ſubmit to it. This, however, he well knew was not likely to be acceded to by them, ſince in ſuch a council they were ſure to be condemned.

The emperor, after conſidering the anſwer of the Proteſtants, replied in a manner that muſt have been far from pleaſing them. He condemned their obſtinacy in prefering their private ſentiments to the doctrine of the univerſal church, but that he had the peace of the church ſo much at heart, that he required them to renew their conferences, at which he ſaid he would aſſiſt in perſon; but if they were inflexible, he muſt, as protector of the church, treat them as ſchiſmatics; and he required their anſwer the next day.

The Proteſtants, however, without being terrified, replied that their confeſſion of faith would ſhew that they preſerved the catholic faith, that in an affair of conſcience, a plurality of voices would avail nothing, and that the reſumption of the conferences would anſwer no good purpoſe, as they had nothing farther to concede; but they ſaid they would endeavour to preſerve the peace of the

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ſtate. This reſolute anſwer offended the emperor; but being unwilling to give up all hopes of an union, various other attempts were made in which Melanchthon was perſuaded to concede more than his brethren were willing to do. In this, however, Erafmus, who was then at Augſburg, concurred with him. But the more zealous of the Proteſtants, eſpecially the citizens of Nuremberg, were diſpleaſed with theſe timid councils; and Luther, writing to his friends, declared his fixed reſolution to yield nothing farther than the confeſsion. "I conjure you," ſaid he, "to "break off all farther negociation. They inſult "us becauſe they are the ſtronger party; but let "them do as they pleaſe. Whether war comes "or not, we have offered peace, and that is e-"nough."

The emperor ſeeing that nothing was likely to be effected, ordered the decree of the diet to be drawn up; but before this was done the Proteſtants preſented fourteen articles as their *ultimatum*; and the imperial cities of Straſburg, Conſtance, Memingen, and Lindaw, preſented their confeſſion, differing from that of the Lutherans only in the article relating to the corporeal preſence; and tho' all reaſonable endeavours were uſed to engage the Lutherans not to break their union on account of

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this article, even Melanchon, tho' he had been ſo compliant to the catholics, would not yield to them.

At length the decree of this famous diet was produced, to the following purpoſe, that "the "confeſſion of faith of the Proteſtants, having been "read, had been refuted by proofs drawn from the "ſcriptures; but that not being admitted by them, "they were allowed till the 15th of April in the "year following to conſider whether they would "make profeſſion of the doctrine of the pope and "the Catholic ſtates, at leaſt till the meeting of a "council; that within that time they muſt ſigni-"fy their reſolution to the emperor. In the mean "time, they were forbidden to print any thing re-"lating to their religion, make any farther inno-"vations; draw any perſon to their faith, or diſ-"turb the monks in their poſſeſſions. They were "alſo ordered to repreſs the Anabaptiſts, and the "Sacramentarians. On the other hand, the em-"peror promiſed to engage the pope to call a "council within ſix months, to be opened within "a year after the convocation."

To this decree the Proteſtants made many objections; and after ſeveral attempts to gain them, they gave it as their final anſwer, that on any other ſubject than that of *religion*, they were ready to convince the emperor that no princes had more

reſpect to his orders and authority; that events were in the hands of God, in whom they placed their hopes of ſafety; and that they awaited his orders with that tranquility which is inſeparable from a good conſcience. When the elector of Saxony, after this, took his leave of the emperor, he ſaid aloud, that he was convinced that the doctrine contained in their confeſſion was ſupported by ſuch ſtrong proofs from the ſcriptures, that all the efforts of the devil could not overturn it. The emperor giving him his hand only replied, "My "couſin, I ſhould not have expected this of "you."

After the departure of the elector, ſome farther propoſals for an accommodation were made; but no attention was paid to them. The Proteſtants alſo refuſed to contribute any thing to the war with the Turks whilſt their own eſtates were threatened, and conſequently whilſt their troops and finances were wanted for their own defence, unleſs they were aſſured of the peaceable poſſeſſion of the reformation till the holding of a council and many of the Catholics thought this reſolution to be very reaſonable. In conſequence of this, ſome clauſes were inſerted in the decree in their favour, but not ſufficiently definite to give ſatisfaction; and the miniſters of the elector of Saxony had orders to require poſitively of the emperor, whether they were to have peace or war. As

As to the Sacramentarians, they were treated with much more haughtineſs, after a pretended refutation of their arguments by Faber and Eckius, of which they were not allowed to have a copy. Since, ſaid the emperor, they approved of the frightful doctrine which denies the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, ſince they had removed the images from their churches, aboliſhed the maſs, and driven the monks from their monaſteries, they ſhould be treated as they deſerved.

At length the receſs of the diet was publiſhed the 19th of November A. D. 1530. It abſolulely proſcribed the Sacramentarians, ordered the reſtoration of the antient ceremonies, the degradation of the married prieſts, the invocation of the ſaints, the reſtoration of the monaſteries, and directed that the decree ſhould be executed by force of arms. In concluſion, the emperor promiſed the convocation of a council in ſix months. But the imperial cities refuſed to ſubſcribe the decree, and the magiſtrates of Augſburg, where the diet was aſſembled, would not affix their ſeal to it, as had always been the cuſtom in the cities in which the diet met. After the publication of this decree, the emperor left the place the 24th of November.

The conduct of the Proteſtants appeared to ſo much advantage during the ſitting of this diet, reſiſting alike the threats and the careſſes of their

enemies, that their cauſe gained much in conſequence of it, eſpecially after the publication of their confeſſion of faith. Preſently after this there declared for them Herman archbiſhop of Cologn, Frederic count Palatine, the firſt miniſter of the empire, and afterwards elector, Eric duke of Brunſwick, the dukes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, Joachim prince elector of Brandenburg, who ſoon ſucceeded his father George, Erneſt ſon of prince William of Henneberg, and a great number of counts, barons, gentlemen, and free cities: *

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* About the time of this diet at Augſburg the following ſymbolical repreſentation, Le Clerc ſays, was exhibited before the emperor and his brother Ferdinand.

As the princes were at table a number of perſons offered to act a ſmall comedy for the entertainment of the company. They were ordered to begin; and firſt entered a man in the dreſs of a doctor, who brought a large quantity of ſmall wood, of ſtraight and crooked billets; and having laid them on the middle of the hearth, retired. On his back was written REUCHLIN.

When this actor was gone off another entered, habited alſo like a doctor, who attempted to make faggots of the wood, and to fit the crooked to the ſtraight; but having laboured long to no purpoſe, he went away out of humour, ſhaking his head. On his back appeared the name of ERASMUS.

A third, dreſſed like an Auguſtinian monk, came in with a chafing diſh full of fire, gathered up the crooked

In this critical ſtate of things with the Proteſtants, the obſtinacy of Luther, which prevented him and his friends from uniting with Zuinglius and his friends, appeared to be particularly unfortunate.

wood, put it upon the fire, and blew till he made it burn, then went away, having upon his frock the name of LUTHER.

A fourth entered dreſſed like an emperor, who ſeeing the crooked wood all on fire, ſeemed much concerned; and to put it out drew his ſword, and poked the fire with it, which only made it burn the briſker. On his back was written CHARLES V.

Laſtly, a fifth entered in his pontifical habit and with a triple crown, who ſeemed extremely ſurprized to ſee the crooked billets on fire, and by his countenance and attitude ſhewed exceſſive grief. Then looking about on every ſide to ſee if he could find any water to extinguiſh the flame, caſt his eyes on two bottles in a corner of the room, one of which was full of oil and the other of water, and in his hurry he unfortunately ſeized on the oil and poured it upon the fire, which made it blaze ſo violently, that he was forced to walk off. On his back was written LEO X.

This little farce Jortin (from whoſe *Life of Erasmus* p. 584 I copy it) adds wants no commentary; but if the merry actors had taken it into their heads to repreſent the whole conduct of Eraſmus, they ſhould have introduced him a ſecond time, and have repreſented him as conſtrained by the menaces of Leo X to take up the ſtraight wood, and burn it along with the crooked.

tunate. On this account Bucer made another attempt at a reconciliation, and at length he in ſome meaſure ſucceeded. With the conſent of the elector of Saxony, and the citizens of Straſburgh, he went from Augſburg to viſit him, and found him much more favourably diſpoſed than before. How far he ſucceeded does not appear; but Bucer was encouraged by it to go from him to Zuinglius, and the reformed Switzers; and the conſequence was the forming of a league for ſix years with the landgrave and the cities of Zurich, Baſil, and Straſburgh, that if any violence ſhould be offered to any of them on account of their religion, they ſhould aſſiſt one another. This was made in November.

The elector of Saxony being ſummoned to meet the emperor at Cologn about the creation of a king of the Romans, he requeſted a meeting of the landgrave, and the other Proteſtant princes at Smalcald the 28th of December, when they all entered into a league, but purely for their own defence; and the other Proteſtant princes, cities, and ſtates, were invited to accede to it. *Sleidan*, p. 142. From this meeting letters were addreſſed to the kings of France and of England, in which they endeavoured to anſwer ſeveral calumnies which had been propagated concerning them; they gave an account of the proceedings at Augſburgh

burgh, and requeſted their interference to procure a general and impartial council. To theſe letters favourable anſwers were in due time returned.

On the 29th of March A. D. 1531, the Proteſtant princes had another meeting at Smalcald, and then, with the conſent of Luther himſelf, who on farther reflection had been led to approve of defenſive war, in a cauſe in which both civil and religious rights were alike involved, they ſettled every thing relating to their league, as the ſums that each ſhould contribute, the command of the armies, and the terms on which others ſhould be admitted to join the confederacy, &c. The elector of Saxony would not, however, conſent to the admiſſion of the Sacramentarians into the league. He was ſenſible, he ſaid, of the great acceſſion which it would bring to their ſtrength; but we ought not for that reaſon have recourſe to unlawful aſſiſtance, but leave the event to God.

When they were at Smalcald, they received the emperor's requiſition to contribute to the war againſt the Turks; but they replied that, till they could be aſſured that they ſhould not be harraſſed by the imperial chamber with actions on account of religion, which would neceſſarily lead them to ſtand on their own defence, they could not ſo far diſarm themſelves; and there being an immediate neceſſity to oppoſe the Turks, the emperor, then

holding another diet at Ratiſbon, found himſelf obliged to promiſe that till the meeting of a general council no perſon ſhould be moleſted on account of his religion; on which the Proteſtants, then ſeven princes, and twenty four cities, promiſed their aſſiſtance againſt the Turks. This agreement was ratified Auguſt 2d A. D. 1532. In the mean time a better agreement had been made between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, the latter having ſo explained their doctrine that the former accepted of it. On the 6th of Auguſt the elector of Saxony died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon John Frederic, juſtly ſurnamed *the Magnanimous.*

Preſently after this, the pope and the emperor ſent ambaſſadors to the elector, to ſignify their agreement to hold a general council in the uſual manner, and deſiring his concurrence with it; the pope giving the choice of Placentia, Bologna, or Mantua, for the holding of it, and requiring his promiſe to abide by its decrees. He declined giving any anſwer without the concurrence of his friends; and the Proteſtant princes meeting at Smalcald January 30 A. D. 1533, gave their joint anſwer; ſaying, that the council of which they had now received notice was by no means ſuch as had been promiſed in the imperial decree, and was not likely to anſwer any good end.

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For if it was held according to the uſual cuſtom, the pope would preſide, and all the decrees would be in his own favour. But they ſaid that if the council was held, they would either attend, or ſend their ambaſſadors, provided they ſaw any proſpect of its anſwering a good end: but that if the proceedings in that council ſhould reſemble thoſe of the later ones, they would leave the affair to Almighty God, who would undoubtedly vindicate his own cauſe, and that of true religion.

Thus, in a favourable concurrence of circumſtances, a toleration was procured for the Proteſtants for an indefinite time, there being no probability that any council would be held during the pontificate of Clement, whoſe averſion to the meaſure was well known; and no great intereſt of the whole empire, ſuch as a war with the Turks, could be carried on without the hearty concurrence of the Proteſtant as well as the Catholic princes. Beſides an open war with the Proteſtants, on account of their *religion only*, was a meaſure that the emperor did not chuſe to hazard.

When the emperor left Germany he went to Italy; and again conferring with the pope on the ſubject of the council which he had much at heart, they agreed to ſend ambaſſadors jointly to the Proteſtant princes, giving them the choice of three cities in Italy for the holding of it, on condition

that it ſhould be held in the antient manner, and that all parties ſhould be bound by its decrees.

To this they anſwered, that ſuch a council could not poſſibly anſwer the end propoſed, ſince the pope would have it in his power to conduct every thing juſt as he pleaſed, and that it was contrary to the laws of the empire that the council ſhould be held any where but in Germany. They ſaid, however, that if they ſaw any proſpect of a good end being anſwered by their attendance, and queſtions were decided according to the ſcriptures, they would attend; and they concluded with intreating the emperor, whoſe province it was, to ſee that juſtice was done to them and to all parties, to conſider the importance of the caſe, and ſee that the buſineſs was conducted in a proper manner. They then appointed a committee of divines and lawyers to draw up a ſcheme of articles on which they were to inſiſt, with reſpect to the form of the council. It was evident, however, that the pope was far from wiſhing that any council ſhould be held, and in his private inſtructions to his ambaſſador, he bade him take care that, tho' preſſed by Ferdinand himſelf, he ſhould not lay him under the neceſſiy of holding any council at all.

In the mean time the Proteſtants, ſeeing that it was the intention of their enemies to cruſh them by

by any means, made a league for their ſecurity with the king of France; and the landgrave, who was always ready to have recourſe to arms, raiſed an army, and meeting with ten thouſand of the troops of Ferdinand on the 13th of May A D. 1534, defeated them, and took ſeveral towns of importance. But the archbiſhop of Mentz and the elector of Saxony interpoſing their good offices, peace was made on the terms that no violence ſhould be done to any perſon, and no law ſuits commenced on the account of religion. (*Sleidan*, p. 173) but without comprehending the Anabaptiſts or Sacramentarians; and that the elector of Saxony ſhould acknowledge Ferdinand king of the Romans.

The pope was greatly offended at this pacification, but Ferdinand apologized for it as the only means of preventing greater troubles. Preſently after this the pope died, and was ſucceeded by Paul III of the houſe of Farneſe.

SECTION

SECTION VII.

From the death of Clement VII, in A. D. 1554, *to the Eſtabliſhment of the Toleration in Germany,* A. D. 1559.

PAUL III, not having the apprehenſions of Clement, propoſed to the Proteſtants the holding of the council for which they had ſo often called; but as he propoſed that it ſhould be held in Mantua, and was not explicit about the mode of proceeding in it, they declined giving their aſſent. They, alſo inſiſted that the pope, who was a party, ſhould not be the judge, and that the deciſions ſhould be according to the ſcriptures. And being ſtill harraſſed by the proceedings of the chamber of Spire, notwithſtanding the promiſe of relief from the emperor and Ferdinand, they on the 12th of Decemher A. D. 1535, renewed their league of Smalcald, which was near expiring, for ten years more. They had received ambaſſadors from the king of France, who was at variance with the emperor, and alſo from the king of Eng-

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land, who had quarrelled with the pope, but no active meaſures were entered into by them.

The emperor, being at Rome in April A. D. 1536, inſiſted ſo much on the neceſſity of a council, that the pope appointed nine perſons to draw up a bull for the convocation of one to meet at Mantua the 23d of the following May; and it was ſubſcribed by twenty-ſix cardinals. At the ſame time a committee was formed for the reformation of abuſes in his own court. Afterwards, on the duke of Mantua's inſiſting on a garriſon for the ſecurity of the town, the council was prorogued to the firſt of November.

It was in vain that the emperor endeavoured to reconcile the Proteſtants to a council convened by the pope, as they clearly foreſaw that no juſtice would be done to them in it. The king of England alſo proteſted againſt it, alleging the avowed hoſtility of the pope to him; and indeed the pope had promoted a peace between the emperor and the king of France with a view to cruſh both the king of England and the Proteſtants. The latter alſo complained again, but to no purpoſe, of the conduct of the chamber of Spire, which, tho' ordered not to meddle with any cauſes relating to religion, yet decided many againſt them on the pretence of their being civil cauſes, or of a mixed

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nature. The Proteſtants alſo wiſhed to have the emperor's approbation for admitting into their league ſeveral princes and cities who had joined them after it was firſt formed, but in vain.

The pope at this time, unable to reſiſt the inceſſant calls for reformation, appointed twelve perſons, among whom were four cardinals, to examine into the abuſes complained of, and to make a report concerning them; and they ſeem to have done it with fidelity, as may be concluded from a view of the articles themſelves. They complained that biſhopricks were often given to perſons deſtitute of learning or probity, and ſometimes to boys. They, therefore, adviſed that perſons ſhould be appointed to examine the candidates for biſhopricks, and alſo that natives of one country ſhould not have preferments in another. They ſaid that biſhops made reſignations of their benefices with the reſervation of a great proportion of the revenues to themſelves, that they contrived to diſpoſe of them by will, that the children of prieſts enjoyed the benefices of their fathers, that perſons were appointed to biſhopricks before the death of the incumbents, that ſeveral were enjoyed by the ſame perſons, that biſhopricks were given to cardinals who could not reſide; whereas, according to the antient canons, no biſhop ſhould be abſent from

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his church more than three weeks, that too many of the cardinals reſided at a diſtance from Rome; where they ought to be preſent to adviſe and aſſiſt the pope.

They farther complained that church diſcipline was much relaxed, and that penalties and cenſures were bought off. They ſaid there were many bad examples among the monks, and that there was much open and notorious lewdneſs in nunneries, and therefore adviſed that no monks ſhould be confeſſors to nuns.

Much miſchief, they ſaid, had ariſen from public diſputations and controverſial ſermons, and from the unreſtrained publication of books, eſpecially from the *Colloquies of Eraſmus* being taught in ſchools. Prieſts, they ſaid, were often permitted to marry, and that diſpenſations to marry within the prohibited degrees were too often given; that ſimony was ſo common that no perſon was aſhamed of it, that every perſon was allowed to have divine ſervice in his own houſe, and to chuſe prieſts to perform it.

They alſo complained of the abuſe of indulgences which they ſaid ſhould not be diſtributed more than once a year, and only in the greater towns. They ſaid that divine ſervice was often performed in an indecent manner at Rome, and even in the church of St Peter, the prieſts being both

both ignorant and ſlovenly. Common proſtitutes, they ſaid, appeared in public, riding on mules, and living in magnificent houſes, where they were viſited even by cardinals, that there were no where to be ſeen ſuch marks of diſſoluteneſs and debauchery as in that city, which ought to be the pattern of virtue and decency to every other.

They conclude with earneſtly exhorting the pope to apply a remedy to all theſe public diſorders, and thereby avert the wrath of God, which they ſaid hung over them for their ſins.

This ſcheme of a reformation was not publiſhed, nor was it ever reduced to practice. Nicolas the cardinal and archbiſhop of Capua, who was ſuppoſed to ſpeak the real ſentiments of the pope, was violently againſt all reformation; alleging that the Lutherans would boaſt that they had compelled them to it. It was ſuppoſed however, that it was by means of this cardinal that the ſcheme was divulged, and Luther, coming to the knowledge of it, wrote to expoſe it. The pope prorogued the council to the firſt of May, and not being able to prevail upon the emperor and the king of France to attend at that time, he again prorogued it to the Eaſter following to meet at Vicenza.

In A. D. 1538, the king of Denmark, and in A. D. 1542, Otho the prince Palatine, joined the Proteſtants. The elector of Brandenburg, tho'

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of the Lutheran religion, refuſed to join this league, and was in all other reſpects devoted to the emperor.

In order to counteract the league of the Proteſtants, the Catholic princes, among whom was George duke of Saxony, Lewis duke of Bavaria, and Henry duke of Brunſwick, who was particularly eager to make war on the Proteſtants, were induced by the emperor to enter into a league which they called the *holy league*, and which was to continue eleven years. However, at the diet of Frankfort, in A. D. 1539, the emperor granted the confederates a truce for fifteen months, that there might be a conference of learned men on the ſubject of religion, but the Anabaptiſts were not comprehended in it.

In this year George duke of Saxony died, and was ſucceeded by his brother Henry, a zealous Proteſtant, who immediately invited Luther to preach at Leipſic, in order to promote the reformation, which was a great acquiſition to the Proteſtant cauſe. In March A. D. 1540 the Proteſtants met at Smalcald, and by a letter to the emperor made every repreſentation to procure peace; but at the ſame time they concerted proper meaſures for their defence, if he ſhould not be influenced by them.

After much preparation in preceding meetings, the conference which had been propoſed between the oppoſite parties was opened at Ratiſbon, but it had no more effect than the former ones; and an invaſion of the Turks being at that time apprehended, the emperor thought proper to make ſuch conceſſions as induced the Proteſtant princes to join their forces to repel them. The principal of theſe conceſſions was a reformation in the imperial chamber, by which a number of Proteſtants were to be admitted as judges in it. But this being afterwards evaded, the Proteſtants refuſed to abide by the awards of this court, and at the diet of Nuremberg in A. D. 1542, they declined contributing to the Turkiſh war on that account.

In the mean time the pope was doing every thing in his power to promote a war againſt the Proteſtants, and in A. D. 1545 he prepared an army of twelve thouſand men to aſſiſt in it; but things were not then ripe for the meaſure. A Franciſcan friar preaching before the emperor, exhorted him to an immediate war; ſaying that many thouſand ſouls were dayly in danger of eternal damnation, and that if he did not apply a remedy God would require them at his hands. The king of England at this time informed the Proteſtants that they were threatened with a dreadful war. On the other hand they were accuſed to the emperor

peror of conſpiring againſt his authority. Another conference, however, was held on the ſubject of religion at Ratiſbon; but after ſome progreſs it was broke up in conſequence of ſome directions of the emperor concerning it, to which the Proteſtants refuſed to accede.

It was in this ſtate of things, when every thing was tending to an open rupture, that Luther, who had always been an advocate for peace and forbearance, died. On the 17th of February A. D. 1556 having been requeſted to act the part of an umpire between two counts of Mansfield, in which was Iſleben the place of his nativity, he went thither; and having diſpatched that buſineſs, he was ſeized with ſome diſorder in his ſtomach, and after ſome diſcourſe about knowing one another in a future ſtate, of which he ſaid he had no doubt, he deſired his friends to pray to God for the preſervation of the pure doctrine of the goſpel; for that the pope and the council, which was juſt then aſſembled at Trent, were hatching miſchief. Then, he earneſtly prayed that God, who he ſaid, had revealed to him his ſon Jeſus, whom he had loved and preached, while the pope and others had perſecuted and diſhonoured him, would receive his ſoul; adding, "O heavenly father, tho' I be ſnatched out of this "life, tho' I muſt now lay down this body, yet "know I aſſuredly that I ſhall abide with thee

"forever, and that no man ſhall pluck me out of "thy hands." Preſently after this, without any appearance of pain or agony, he expired on the 18th of February at the age of ſixty three, and five days after he was honourably buried at Wittemberg. In this pious and exemplary manner died this extraordinary man, who had been raiſed up by God to be a principal inſtrument in promoting the great and neceſſary work of reformation; and contrary to the expectation of many, he died in peace, and not a violent death, as thouſands who preceded and followed him in the ſame cauſe did.

While the emperor was taking his meaſures for the ſuppreſſion of the Proteſtants by force, he took great pains to deceive them. The landgrave waiting upon him at Spire freely mentioned to him the circumſtances which led them to ſuſpect that he had made peace with the king of France, and a truce with the Turks, with a deſign to fall upon them. But he aſſured them that he had no ſuch intention, and that the ſuſpicions he had been led to entertain of them were alſo removed; that it was not his intention that any violence ſhould be offered to them on account of any decrees of the council of Trent, and after a long conference they parted ſeemingly well diſpoſed to each other.

With all theſe profeſſions of peace the emperor was fully determined on war, and from Ratiſbon,

bon, where the diet was held, he ſent the cardinal of Trent to Rome, to require of the pope the ſuccours he had promiſed, and made other preparations. Alarmed at this, the Proteſtants deſired to be informed concerning the object of them, but he returned only an evaſive anſwer; ſaying that his deſign was to eſtabliſh peace and juſtice, that thoſe who ſhould aſſiſt him in this would find favour, but that the forces he was raiſing would reduce thoſe who ſhould oppoſe him in it. His letters to the free cities of the empire made his real deſigns ſtill more apparent.

The deputies of the Proteſtant ſtates finding this left Ratiſbon, and the cities of Upper Germany, immediately raiſed forces, and writing to the landgrave and the elector of Saxony, promiſed them all the aſſiſtance in their power. Theſe two princes raiſed their forces, but before they commenced hoſtilities they wrote to the emperor, remonſtrating againſt his conduct, as contrary to all his profeſſions, when it was now evident that he was undertaking a war for the ſuppreſſion of the goſpel, and the liberties of Germany, and for no other cauſe whatever. They then wrote to the kings of England and France, and other ſtates, to ſolicit ſuccours; alleging that it was a war of religion, and that it was the emperor's intention, un-

der colour of puniſhing a few, to divide them, and deſtroy them all one after another.

Whilſt the emperor was proceeding with as much ſecrecy as he could, and really aimed at enlarging his power in Germany, the pope acted without any diſguiſe, proclaiming to all the world that the object of the war was the ſuppreſſion of hereſy; and on the 13th of July A. D. 1546 he publiſhed a bull, in which, after complaining of the obſtinacy of the heretics, who, he ſaid, ſlighted and rejected the council which was then ſitting at Trent, he exhorted all perſons to faſt and pray that God would give ſucceſs to the war, which the emperor and himſelf were obliged to undertake for the rooting out of hereſy, and reſtoring peace to the church.

This open conduct of the pope was more than ſufficient to open the eyes of the Proteſtant confederates to ſee their real ſituation, and accordingly the landgrave took the field the 16th of the ſame month, and Schertellini, one of the Proteſtant generals, ſoon made himſelf maſter of Erenberg, an important paſs in the Alps leading to Italy, in order to prevent the arrival of the forces of the pope.

The emperor finding his diſſimulation of no farther uſe, proclaimed the elector of Saxony and the landgrave outlawed, and declared war againſt them

them in the uſual forms. However, the meaſures of the Proteſtants were ſo well laid, and their force ſo great, that they would certainly have been an overmatch for the emperor, if Maurice, the ſon and heir of Henry duke of Saxony, had not adhered to him. This prince, tho' a Proteſtant, was deſirous of ſupplanting his relation in the electorate, and to him and his brother Auguſtus the emperor committed the execution of the ban of the empire, requiring him to take poſſeſſion of the elector's eſtates, and alſo thoſe of the landgrave. The better to ſucceed in this, Maurice continued with the Proteſtants.

After a formal declaration of war, in anſwer to that of the emperor, the Proteſtants marched to Ratiſbon, and had they been governed by the landgrave, who was for immediately attacking the emperor, there can be no doubt but they would have had him in their power; but his advice was overruled. And preſently after Maurice having called a council of his ſtates, in which he aſſured them that their religion was in no danger, declared that they were under obligation to obey the emperor in all temporal matters, and that as the ſtates of his relation the elector were in danger of ſuffering from the invaſion of foreigners, he perſuaded them to take part with the emperor in this war, and ſeize upon the electorate; and this, after ſome ne-

gociation, in which he pretended much friendſhip for his relation, he in a great meaſure did. And tho' the elector not only recovered what Maurice had taken from him, and gained other advantages, yet in a pitched battle fought the 22d of April A. D. 1547 at Mulberg on the Elbe, he was defeated, taken priſoner, and ſentenced to die for rebellion. But on the interceſſion of the duke of Brandenburg, the emperor remitted the ſentence, on condition of his renouncing the electorate.

He refuſed, however, to conſent to what the emperor alſo propoſed, viz. that he would approve of whatever the council of Trent or the emperor ſhould decree concerning religion, tho' his life depended upon it; and in all reſpects he behaved with the greateſt piety and magnanimity. Such conditions were propoſed to the landgrave as he thought proper to accept; but waiting on the emperor at Hall, other conditions than thoſe to which he had agreed were preſented to him; and notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Maurice, and the elector of Brandenburg, who had made themſelves reſponſible for his ſafety, and the emperor's own word to the contrary, he was detained a priſoner.

The city of Magdeburg ſtill held out againſt the emperor, and was therefore put under the ban of the empire, and both the emperor and Maurice having

having gained their principal objects, of which that of the former was an acceſſion of power by ſuppreſſing his opponents, and that of the latter the ſupplanting of the elector, and getting himſelf appointed in his place, nothing was ſaid on either ſide with reſpect to religion. Indeed, the pope, was ſo fully apprized of the real object of the emperor, and had ſuch a dread of his ſucceſs, that he had on various pretences, and eſpecially his not having openly declared himſelf againſt the Proteſtants as heretics, withdrawn his troops.

Maurice, who had always profeſſed great zeal for the Proteſtant cauſe, ſent for Melancthon, and other divines of Wittemberg, treated them with great civility, made large profeſſions of his zeal for religion, and committed to them the care of the church and of the univerſity. On the other hand, the pope, who now dreaded the increaſed power of the emperor, having, on the pretence of an infectious diſtemper, removed the council from Trent to Bologna, with a view to having it more in his own power, the emperor was much offended, and ordered his biſhops and divines to remain at Trent; and a diet being held at Augſburg July the 3d, he moved the princes to remonſtrate with the pope on the ſubject. No ſatisfaction being obtained, and there being no proſpect of promoting the union of the empire by means of the council,

with the concurrence of the ſtates, commiſſioners were appointed to draw up heads of doctrine, and articles of reformation.

The perſons appointed were Julius Pflug biſhop of Nuremberg, Michael Sidonius, and Agricola, who eighteen years before had defended the Proteſtant doctrine in company with Melanchthon and Brentius. Having drawn up theſe articles, they were preſented to the emperor, and afterwards communicated to all the parties. This meaſure being intended to anſwer a temporary purpoſe, obtained the title of *the Interim*, but it gave ſatisfaction to few. It was received by the elector of Brandenburg in the Palatinate, and at Wittemberg, but it greatly diſpleaſed the pope and the Catholics, as not made by proper authority, and no leſs the more zealous Proteſtants, eſpecially the late elector of Saxony, who tho' a priſoner, rejected very flattering offers that were made to him if he would accept it; and tho' he was treated with peculiar harſhneſs for his refuſal. His anſwer to the propoſal diſcovers the greateſt magnanimity, a mind deeply ſenſible to his ſituation, but unbroken by it, and preferring the things of another life to every thing in this. It was alſo rejected by the ſubjects of the landgrave. On the publication of this *Interim* one inconſiderable city, but it does not appear which, intreated the emperor

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to be content that their goods and their lives were at his ſervice, but that he would permit them to reſerve their conſciences for God; and leaſt of all was it reaſonable, they ſaid, that he ſhould force upon them a thing which he did not himſelf accept, or believe to be true. *F. Paul*, p. 479.

The citizens of Magdeburg added much to their offence by their rejection of the Interim. They alſo complained of encroachments on their civil liberties; and tho ſome of their forces were defeated, they perſiſted with great magnanimity in their reſiſtance. On this Maurice was appointed to command the force of the empire againſt them; but when they were obliged to capitulate, good ſecurity was given them both with reſpect to their liberties and their religion.

By granting theſe favourable terms to the citizens of Magdeburg, and by various alliances with foreign powers, Maurice was continually ſtrengthening himſelf; while the emperor, intent on the war that he was carrying on in Italy, and on the proceedings of the council, had no ſuſpicion of his deſigns, which were to gain the liberty of his father in law the landgrave, and the liberties of Germany in general, if not by fair means, by force of arms; and the emperor giving only evaſive anſwers to all his applications in favour of the landgrave, he, having ſecretly increaſed his forces, and made a

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league with the king of France, in the ſpring of A. D. 1552, publiſhed a declaration to the ſtates of the empire, complaining, that after many promiſes nothing was done in favour of religion, or of his father in law, and that ſteps were taken to eſtabliſh an arbitrary power in the empire, and expreſſing his reſolution to take up arms for the common liberty. The declaration was alſo ſigned by Albert duke of Mecklenburg. Alſo Albert of Brandenburg publiſhed a declaration of a ſimilar nature, and the king of France another.

Theſe ſteps being taken, Maurice made ſuch diſpatch, that the emperor, who ſaw his danger, and began to levy troops when it was too late, very narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner at Inſpruck, from which he fled by night, together with his brother Ferdinand. At length a treaty was made at Paſſaw, in which it was agreed that the landgrave ſhould be ſet at liberiy, that within ſix months the emperor ſhould hold a diet of the empire in order to compoſe the differences about religion, and that in the mean time all perſons ſhould live in peace, and not be moleſted on that account; alſo that perſons of the Auguſtan confeſſion ſhould be admitted into the imperial chamber. The emperor moreover ſet at liberty the late elector of Saxony, and behaved to him with great kindneſs.

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The ſtate of the empire not admitting of any farther meaſures with reſpect to the council, the Proteſtants were from that time permitted to enjoy their religious liberty with little interruption.

Maurice, who by his ſuperior policy, had been the means of effecting this great event, and of eſtabliſhing his family in the electorate, died in battle in A. D. 1553, fighting againſt Albert of Brandenburg, who had been joined with him againſt the emperor, but afterwards entered into hoſtilities with ſeveral princes and ſtates of the empire. Auguſtus the brother of Maurice ſucceeded him in the electorate, and the magnanimous John Frederick, who died expreſſing ſentiments of the moſt pious reſignation in A. D. 1554, never recovered it, tho' by a treaty made a ſhort time before his death, his heirs were to ſucceed in caſe Auguſtus ſhould die without male iſſue. His wife Sibilla, a woman poſſeſſed of the piety and magnanimity of her huſband, and ſtrongly attached to him, died the year before.

During the interruption of the council of Trent in A. D. 1554, Ferdinand, then king of the Romans, publiſhed an edict, by which he ordered that no innovation ſhould be made in matters of religion. He alſo procured a catechiſm to be compoſed by ſome divines of his appointment,

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which he ordered to be uſed in public and in private. This gave equal offence to the Proteſtants and the court of Rome, which naturally took great umbrage at ſuch an interference of the ſecular power in matters of religion.

At the diet in Augſburg February 5, A. D. 1554, he propoſed another conference, or national council, to ſettle all differences. From this the Proteſtants augured nothing favourable to them, ſince in Bohemia he had publiſhed an edict by which more than two hundred miniſters had been baniſhed. Nor was it better received at Rome. A legate, however, attended on the part of the pope; but in this ſtate of things he died, and was ſucceeded by Marcellus II, who ſhewed great zeal for the reformation, but died within the year, and had for a ſucceſſor Paul IV. Both parties being equally obſtinate, and ſome termination of their differences being abſolutely neceſſary, it was finally agreed that all the Proteſtants ſhould have full liberty with reſpect to the religion of their reſpective ſtates, that if any eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhould abandon his religion he ſhould loſe his benefice, but not ſuffer in any other reſpect.

This agreement gave great offence to the pope, and the more as he had juſt received the ſubmiſſion of the kingdom of England on the acceſſion of queen Mary; and he threatened to excommuni-

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cate both the emperor and Ferdinand if they did not revoke what they had granted; promiſing them the aid of his troops, and that he would order all the chriſtian princes to join them with theirs if they would comply with his wiſhes. When among other reaſons, they alleged the oath they had taken, he ſaid he would abſolve them from that, and even commanded them to pay no regard to it. But it was without any effect, and the agreement made at Paſſaw was finally confirmed at another diet held at Ratiſbon in A. D. 1559. *F. Paul* vol. 2, p. 50. And thus the great object of the politic and powerful Charles was effectually defeated. Seeing his diſappointment in this, and his other ambitious ſchemes, he renounced the empire, and all his dominions, and retired to a monaſtery in Spain, where he died in A. D. 1558.

SECTION

SECTION VIII.

Of the Anabaptiſts in Germany.

IT is to be lamented that, as there is no evil unaccompanied with ſome good, and ſo there is no good without ſome attendant evil. While ſome men are rouſed to think with freedom, energy, and juſtneſs, others will think, and often act, very extravagantly; and by this means the beſt of cauſes ſometimes ſuffers. This was particularly the caſe at the time of the reformation in Germany.

Thomas Muncer, of whom ſome account has been given, as at the head of the revolted peaſants, and who pretended to immediate inſpiration, had many admirers and followers; and there cannot be a doubt but that, extravagant as their opinions and conduct were, they were at their outſet ſincere, and diſintereſted, and that the generality of them always were ſo. Some of their tenets are almoſt a proof of it; for they indicate the moſt paſſive and inoffenſive diſpoſition. Beſides renouncing the baptiſm of infants, from which they had their

name,

name, they held it to be unlawful for a chriſtian to go to law, to bear any office of magiſtracy, to take an oath, or to have any property; but, like the primitive chriſtians, they were to have all things in common. *Sleidan*, p. 190. Succeſs, however, led them to depart from ſome of theſe principles. Other real enthuſiaſts have acted in a ſimilar manner.

The reformers having got poſſeſſion of ſome of the churches in Munſter by an agreement with the Catholics in A. D. 1533, John Matthew, or Matyſſen, and John of Leyden, violent Anabaptiſts, came thither, and tho' at firſt they were oppoſed by Bernard Rotman, who had introduced the reformation into that city, they were afterwards joined by him; and being very aſſiduous in preaching, eſpecially by night, they made ſo many proſelytes, that the magiſtrates, offended at the progreſs of the new opinions, baniſhed them from the city. They found means, however, to return, and their numbers continued to increaſe; and one of them pretending to inſpiration, ran about the ſtreets, crying, "Repent and be baptized, or the "wrath of God will overwhelm you."

The moſt active among them was Knipperdoling; and inviting their friends from other places, they were joined by many of the poorer ſort, and many of the rich citizens leaving the

place, they choſe magiſtrates out of their own body, and Knipperdoling was created conſul. They then baniſhed all who would not join them, and ſeizing their property, they brought it all into one common ſtock. They alſo ordered all books to be burned except the Bible, and demoliſhed the churches, John of Leyden pretending to have a revelation for it. He then appointed twelve miniſters to act under him, and publiſhed, as a new revelation, that a man might marry as many wives as he pleaſed, and he himſelf took three. This occaſioned a revolt of many of the more ſober citizens; but they were overpowered, and ſome of them put to death. After this the biſhop aſſiſted by the elector of Cologn, and the duke of Cleves, beſieged the city, and Matthew being killed in a ſally, at the motion of one of them who pretended to the gift of prophecy, John was made *king*, and it was ſaid that he was to be the univerſal monarch, and to put down all other kings. On this he aſſumed all the enſigns of royalty, and ſent miſſionaries to make converts in other places, who proclaimed that the time was come when the *meek ſhould inherit the earth*, and that Luther was worſe than the pope. But they were generally ſeized and put to death.

In the mean time, the city was ſtill beſieged, and a meeting of the neighbouring princes being held,

held, the elector of Saxony joined the confederacy that was entered into againſt them, and notice was given them that unleſs they deſiſted from their purpoſe they would be beſieged by all the forces of the empire. This was in December A. D. 1534; but having no effect, the city was beſieged in due form, and after the people had ſuffered much by famine, it was taken the 22d of June A. D. 1535. The king and Knipperdoling were ſeized, while Rotman was killed fighting. The king and ſome others of the priſoners were carried about Germany, and being then taken back to Munſter they were tortured, and put to death the 19th of January A. D. 1536, and afterwards expoſed in iron cages at the top of the tower in the city. *Sleidan*, p. 202.

This ſeverity had the beſt effect, all the Anabaptiſts on this giving up every idea of civil power, and becoming the moſt peaceable of citizens, and perhaps the more ſo for having received this check.

SECTION IX.

The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent.

HAVING given a pretty large account of all the former great councils, becauſe the proceedings relating to them ſhew in a clear light the ſpirit of the times in which they were held, I think it no leſs uſeful with reſpect to this council of Trent, which is the laſt of them. No council whatever was conſidered at the time as more neceſſary to heal the wounds of the church, and of none of them were greater expectations formed, at leaſt by ſome of the parties concerned, and none of them ſo little anſwered the purpoſes of thoſe who were the moſt ſolicitous about it. In no council whatever was the policy and management of the court of Rome ſo conſpicuous, or ſo ſucceſsful, in turning to its own advantage what was intended to militate againſt it. And that human policy, and not the inſpiration of the Holy Spirit, dictated all the decrees, will hardly be denied by any perſon who attends to the hiſtory of it, eſpecially

cially as written by Father Paul, from whoſe account the following is principally taken.

The council being appointed to meet at Trent, the 15th of March A. D. 1545, the pope, Paul III, ſent four cardinals as his legates, who were there at the time. There arrived alſo on the part of the emperor James Mendoza, a Spaniard. Nothing, however, was done till the 3d of May, when ten biſhops being arrived, a congregation was held to regulate the ceremonials of the council, in which the greateſt devotion to the pope was very manifeſt. The number of biſhops being deemed ſufficient for the opening of the council, the firſt ſeſſion was held on the 13th of December; when, after the celebration of the maſs, the cardinal legates read a ſpeech, informing the Fathers that the council was called for three purpoſes, viz. the extinction of hereſy, the reſtoration of diſcipline, and the peace of Europe. After this an oration was delivered, exhorting all perſons to reform their lives, and to attend without prejudice to the buſineſs on which they were met.

The pope, having received advice of the opening of the council, appointed a congregation of cardinals and officers of his court to attend to every thing that paſſed in it, and direct its proceedings; when orders were given that it ſhould have the following title prefixed to all the decrees, *The holy*

œcumenical and general council of Trent, the legates of the apoſtolical ſee preſiding in it; that the votes ſhould not be by nations, as in the councils of Conſtance and Baſil, but in the manner of that of Lateran, by which means the influence of the biſhops of diſtant provinces, who could not attend in great numbers, would be inconſiderable, compared to that of thoſe of Italy, who were more ſubject to the controul of the pope.

When the title was propoſed at Trent, the French prelates would have added the words *repreſenting the univerſal church*, which had been uſed at the councils of Conſtance and Baſil. But the legates oppoſed it, leſt it ſhould excite a recollection of thoſe councils, and imply that it had a power ſuperior to that of the pope; but what they alleged was, that it was too pompous, and would give an advantage to the heretics. Every other precaution that had ever been taken to ſecure the influence of the court of Rome was introduced, eſpecially the holding of *ſeparate congregations*, or *committees* of particular members, in which every thing ſhould be diſcuſſed, and alſo *general congregations*, in which, after this, every perſon might be heard on the ſubject, before the *ſeſſion*, which by this means was reduced to a mere ceremony, to publiſh what had been agreed upon in the congregations. Things being conducted in this manner, it was not poſſible

poſſible but that the influence of the court of Rome and its agents ſhould be abſolute.

The legates alſo adviſed the pope, that ſince the emperor would ſend ſome prelates from Spain, men of great learning, and ability, in whom he could place confidence, he alſo ſhould ſend ten or twelve ſuch perſons on his part, that they might be able to reply to them; as moſt of the prelates who were then aſſembled, tho' well diſpoſed, had little knowledge or diſcretion, and that thoſe who had much capacity were difficult to be governed.

There was for ſome time much debating about the order in which matters of doctrine and of reformation ſhould be diſcuſſed, and the legates were very urgent to get inſtructions from Rome on the ſubject. But at that time the pope, being chiefly intent on promoting the war againſt the Proteſtants, neglected the buſineſs, and the emperor being alſo employed about the war, and ſatisfied that the council was opened, was very indifferent to its proceedings. The legates being thus left to themſelves, they were unwilling to enter upon any thing of much importance; but that they might be doing ſomething, the ſecond ſeſſion was opened on the 4th of February A. D. 1546, in which they agreed upon a confeſſion of their faith, and appointed the third ſeſſion for the 8th of April; as they

were informed that many more biſhops were on their way to join them.

After much diſputing in the congregations, on various articles relating to the canon of ſcripture, which they next entered upon, it was at length agreed, that in this third ſeſſion it ſhould be declared that, ſince every thing relating to truth or to morals was contained either in books, or in traditions, which the apoſtles had received from the mouth of Jeſus Chriſt, and which, being dictated by the Holy Spirit, had been tranſmitted from hand to hand in the church, the council, after the example of the Fathers, received with the ſame reſpect all the books of the Old and New Teſtaments, and alſo the traditions which relate to faith or morals; as having come from the mouth of Jeſus Chriſt. And after an enumeration of the ſacred books, in which they include thoſe of the Apocrypha, an anathema was pronounced againſt thoſe who ſhould deliberately diſpiſe the traditions. It was alſo ordered that an exact edition ſhould be made of the Vulgate tranſlation, which they declared to be *authentic*, and that no anonymous books treating of ſacred things, that were not approved, and the approbation inſerted in the book, ſhould be printed, ſold, or retained, under pain of excommunication, and the pecuniary penalty fixed by the council of Lateran.

This

This firſt decree of the council, from which ſo much was expected, being made public, gave very little ſatisfaction. It was thought extraordinary that five cardinals and forty eight biſhops ſhould take upon them to determine articles of ſuch importance. None of them, it was ſaid, were diſtinguiſhed for their knowledge; that there were, indeed, among them ſome able canoniſts, but none who had much knowledge of religion; that the theologians among them were men of little capacity; that a great proportion of the members were gentlemen and courtiers; that ſome of the biſhops were only ſecular, that the reſt repreſented ſees ſo inconſiderable that altogether they could not repreſent the thouſandth part of chriſtendom; that there was not a ſingle biſhop or theologian from Germany, and only one of their biſhops, viz. of Augſburg, who had a deputy there, and that he was a Savoyard. Afterwards it appeared that, by orders from the pope, nothing was ever done towards correcting the vulgate tranſlation of the ſcriptures.

The pope, reflecting on this and other circumſtances, ſaw that it was neceſſary to give more attention than he had hitherto done to the buſineſs of the council. He therefore increaſed the number of cardinals and prelates to whom he deputed the direction of it, adviſed them to uſe great cauti-

on with reſpect to the decrees, not to employ their time on any thing that was not diſputed by the heretics, and leaſt of all not to ſuffer any diſpute about the authority of the papal ſee.

A circumſtance occurred at this time which the Proteſtants conſidered as ſhewing the inſignificance of the council. The electoral biſhop of Cologn, who was inclined to the reformation, was excommunicated by the pope, without conſulting the council; and yet the emperor, whoſe intereſt it was that the biſhop ſhould not join the Proteſtants, then in open oppoſition to him, paid no regard to the excommunication, but treated him as ſtill the biſhop. The Proteſtants, therefore, repreſented to the emperor, that it was time to provide for the wants of Germany by a national council, or diet, in which the buſineſs of religion ſhould be the principal object.

After much altercation between the legates of the pope and the miniſters of the emperor, who wiſhed that ſome articles of reformation ſhould be entered upon before thoſe of faith, it was determined to proceed to the diſcuſſion of the doctrine of *original ſin*, and to join to it, as an article of reformation, the correction of the abuſes which reſpected *preaching*.

A biſhop from Spain complained much of the dimunition of the original power of the biſhops with

with reſpect to the inſtruction of their flocks, by the encroachment of the univerſities on the one hand, where alone theology was taught, and that of the monks on the other, who had engroſſed the whole buſineſs of preaching, and yet made no good uſe of it for the ſolid inſtruction of the people, but only endeavoured to amuſe them, and draw money from them. To this, he ſaid, was owing all the miſchief of the reformation, which could not have taken place if Luther had been confined to his cell. But to all this the generals of orders replied, that every thing he had mentioned had ariſen from the incapacity, or the neglect, of the biſhops, in conſequence of which the people had long been without any inſtruction at all, that the monks had been invited to this duty by the chief paſtor the pope, and therefore that their privileges ought to be reſpected.

The pope being informed of this diſpute referred the matter to the congregation he had appointed for thoſe purpoſes, and they conſidered that it had been for a long time the great policy of the popes to preſerve their primacy by withdrawing the biſhops from their ſubjection to the archbiſhops, and the monaſteries from that to the biſhops, by this means to have perſons intereſted to defend their authority; that ſince the year A. D. 600 the primacy of the holy ſee had been maintained

tained by the Benedictines, and the congregations of Clugny and Citeaux, and ſeveral others till the riſe of the Mendicants, who in their turn defended it to this day; and therefore that to aboliſh their privileges was to attack not thoſe orders only, but the papacy itſelf. But not to offend the biſhops, it was thought adviſable to give them the ſuperintendance of the theological lectures, as *delegates of the holy ſee*, an expedient to which they had recourſe on other ſimilar occaſions, and which gave ſatisfaction.

After much altercation among the divines about original ſin, and alſo between the Dominicans and Franciſcans about the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary, and many advices from Rome not to quarrel among themſelves, but to confine their labours to the condemnation of the doctrines of the Proteſtants, a decree was made containing five anathemas, with many ſubtle diſtinctions, againſt ſome opinions of the Lutherans on the ſubject of original ſin, but with a declaration that they did not include in it any thing reſpecting the virgin Mary, but on that ſubject abode by the conſtitution of Sixtus IV. On the ſubject of *preaching* ſeveral uſeful regulations were agreed upon, by which the biſhops were required to give particular attention to it, both in their churches, and the monaſteries ſubject to their juriſdiction.

None

None of the decrees of this ſeſſion gave ſatisfaction to the Proteſtants, or even to the emperor, who was diſpleaſed that articles of reformation of ſo little conſequence, and things not required by the Germans, ſhould be treated of, and that the doctrine of original ſin, which had been ſettled by divines on both ſides at the conference at Ratiſbon, ſhould again become the ſubject of diſcuſſion. He wiſhed them to defer all diſcuſſions of this kind till the arrival of the Proteſtants, or at leaſt of the German prelates, who, he ſaid, would attend as ſoon as the diet ſhould be cloſed. It is very evident, therefore, that the emperor did not conſider the proceedings of this council as directed by the Holy Spirit, any more than the Proteſtants. But the war now breaking out put an end to all conſideration of the council. It was the force of arms, and not of argument, from which the greateſt advantage was expected to be derived to the catholic cauſe.

After this, in order to come at the foundation of the Lutheran hereſy, the members of the council proceeded to the diſcuſſion of the doctrine of *Grace*; and this giving room to many diſtinctions, the debate was purpoſely prolonged by the legates, who, in conformity to the wiſhes of the pope, endeavoured to delay the decrees of the next ſeſſion till the event of the war ſhould be known. At length

length, however, the ſeſſion was held the 13th of January A. D. 1547; and, contrary to the will of the emperor, who did not wiſh to offend the Proteſtants, and totally alienate them from the council, they paſſed the decrees concerning Grace, conſiſting of ſixteen articles, and thirty three anathemas, againſt particular doctrines of the Proteſtants on the ſubject. To theſe decrees concerning doctrines they joined others, according to their general rule, reſpecting reformation, and theſe related to the reſidence of biſhops, which they endeavoured to enforce by certain penalties. The decrees of this ſeſſion, containing many ſubtleties, were much ridiculed by the learned Proteſtants, and it was ſaid that the decrees to enforce reſidence could not have much effect.

It was remarkable that preſently after the publication of the decrees of this ſeſſion Sola a Dominican, and Catharin biſhop of Minori, both of whom had aſſiſted in drawing up the decrees, and gave their aſſent to them, wrote each of them treatiſes on the ſubject, dedicated to the council, in which they maintained different opinions; and the controverſy was carried on with ſome warmth; ſo little proſpect was there of thoſe decrees, particular as they were, producing uniformity of opinion.

In the next place the members of the council proceeded to conſider the doctrine of the *ſacraments*,

ments, which they divided into a great number of articles, and, which occaſioned as much diſcuſſion as thoſe concerning the doctrine of grace. To this they joined the reformation of ſome abuſes reſpecting *pluralities*, and the qualifications of biſhops. On the 3d of March the ſeſſion was held, when the decrees concerning the ſacraments in general amounted to thirteen, thoſe concerning baptiſm to eleven, and concerning confirmation to three. Thoſe relating to the articles of reformation were fourteen.

As thoſe decrees, tended to the exaltation of the power of the biſhops, in derogation of that of the popes, as the conteſt between the Dominicans and the Franciſcans on theſe and other ſubjects began to be violent, and could not eaſily be kept within due bounds, as the Spaniſh prelates, ſupported, it was thought, by the emperor, took great liberties in propoſing articles of reformation, and the ſucceſs of the emperor's arms gave great umbrage to the pope, he began to be ſeriouſly alarmed; and wiſhing to get the council, which he could not decently diſſolve, more into his power, he determined to remove it to Bologna; and on the pretence of a contagious diſtemper having broken out at Trent, the decree of the tranſlation of the council to Bologna, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the emperor's prelates, was

paſſed

paſſed on the 11th of March by thirty-five biſhops, and three generals of orders, but oppoſed by one cardinal and ſeventeen other biſhops, all ſubjects of the emperor, who by his orders ſtill remained at Trent.

It appeared afterwards that the bull for this tranſlation had been prepared long before, to be uſed on any emergency that might occur; and as the power of uſing it was delegated only to two of the three legates, it ſhewed how intirely the council was in the power of the pope. But that the pope paid little regard to the decrees of this council, tho' in fact dictated by himſelf, appeared by the treaty which about this time he entered into with Henry king of France; when he began to be alarmed at the acceſſion of power acquired by the emperor, in conſequence of his defeat of the Proteſtants. For he gave his legates ample powers to grant the king whatever he ſhould demand with reſpect to beneficiary matters, without any regard to what had been decreed by the council.

The prelates who remained at Trent did not chuſe to do any thing for fear of a ſchiſm, and thoſe of Bologna contented themſelves with proroguing their meetings in hope of being joined by thoſe at Trent, or of inducing the emperor to approve of the tranſlation; but this he could not be prevailed upon to do.

In

In this dormant ſtate, things continued till the death of Paul III, who was ſucceeded by the cardinal del Monte, who had been legate to the council both at Trent and Bologna, and took the name of Julius III. Tho' he dreaded the emperor, yet, conſidering the difficulties with which he began to be preſſed by the oppoſition that was made to him in Germany, he thought he might ſafely venture to reſume the council, and even at Trent. Accordingly an order was iſſued to doing this the 11th of May A. D. 1551. The emperor concurred in this meaſure, thinking that by means of his reſidence near the place of the council, he could make it ſubſervient to his political purpoſes, both with reſpect to Germany, and the pope. But the king of France, having a difference with the pope on the ſubject of Parma, refuſed to ſend any of his prelates, and threatened the pope with a national council. The Swiſs cantons alſo refuſed to ſend any.

When the prelates were once more aſſembled at Trent, they agreed that their next ſeſſion ſhould be held the 1ſt of September; but the pope who was a man of pleaſure, having given little attention to the affairs of the council, the number of prelates did not exceed ſixty four, tho' the emperor now ſent many from Germany, and more than before from Spain.

The emperor being much occupied with the buſineſs of the council, Maurice of Saxony, the moſt powerful of the Proteſtant princes, and who was with him, favoured his views, and gave orders for Melanchon and the other Proteſtant divines to aſſemble at Leipſic for that purpoſe; but he required a ſafe conduct both from the council and the emperor.

On account of the ſmall number of prelates, all that was done at the time that had been fixed for the ſeſſion was to prorogue it to the 11th of October. The buſineſs deſigned for it related to the *euchariſt*, with reſpect to doctrine, and the means of enforcing *reſidence* with reſpect to reformation. But the king of France entered a proteſt againſt the council, and likewiſe forbad the carrying any money from France to Rome.

In the congregations which followed this ten articles were drawn up, condemning the doctrine of the Proteſtants with reſpect to the euchariſt, and others defining the genuine doctrine of the church on the ſubject. But the pope and the council were induced to defer the deciſion of the article relating to the communion in both kinds till the arrival of the Proteſtants, to whom it was agreed that a ſafe conduct ſhould be given. When the manner in which Chriſt was preſent in the euchariſt came to be diſcuſſed, there was a great diſ-

pute

pute between the Dominicans and the Franciſcans, but it was compromiſed by agreeing to uſe ſuch expreſſions as both parties might approve. After this the decrees were voted as before.

They then proceeded to the doctrines concerning *penance* and *extreme unction*, and the article of reformation related to *epiſcopal jurisdiction*. The decrees on theſe ſubjects were confirmed in the ſeſſion of the 25th of November.

There arrived in the mean time the ambaſſadors of the duke of Wittemberg, requiring a ſafe conduct for the Proteſtant divines, with liberty to deliver a confeſſion of their faith, and to diſcuſs the articles of it. At the ſame time there arrived ambaſſadors from Straſburg, and other cities, and on the 7th of June one from prince Maurice, all requiring a ſafe conduct for their divines, the re-examination of the decrees which had been paſſed, and that the pope ſhould not preſide in the council. But to this the legates would not by any means conſent, tho' it was to the great diſpleaſure of the emperor. All that could be obtained was that the ambaſſadors ſhould be heard in a general congregation on the 24th of June, and that the publication of the articles which had been agreed upon ſhould be deferred till their divines had been heard. But tho' the ambaſſadors were heard, nothing ſatisfactory to them was gained, except

that a ſufficiently ſatisfactory ſafe conduct was granted to the divines, which was declared in the ſeſſion on the 25th of January A. D. 1553. After this four theologians arrived from the duke of Wittemberg, and two from Straſburg, but they could not obtain any conference on the ſubject of their demands, tho' it was much urged by the emperor. In the mean time, the war between the emperor and the Proteſtants, commanded by Maurice, breaking out, and the members of the council retiring, the pope gave orders for the ſuſpenſion of the council, which was declared on the 28th of April to continue two years, or till the concluſion of the troubles.

The pope finding himſelf delivered from a great embarraſſment by the ſuſpenſion of the council, thought to avoid it for the future by pretending to do that at Rome which could not be done at Trent; and for that purpoſe he appointed a numerous congregation of cardinals and other prelates. But nothing was done by them, and the council continued ſuſpended near ten years, not being reſumed till the pontificate of Pius IV, in A. D. 1559.

Averſe as this pope, like moſt of his predeceſſors, was to a council, he perceived that a wiſh for it was ſo general, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to riſk it, eſpecially in order to avoid the calling of a national council in France; and after much

much conſultation it was agreed, that it ſhould be held at Trent, tho' the catholic princes objected to it, and the Proteſtants, to whom the pope ſent nuncios, refuſed to ſubmit to any council in which he ſhould preſide.

The prelates being once more aſſembled at Trent, it was agreed to open the council on the 18th of January, A. D. 1562, without declaring in expreſs terms, but only by implication, that it was a continuation of the preceding council, both the emperor Ferdinand and the king of France having great objections to that, ſince no regard would then be had to it by the Proteſtants in their ſtates. In the ſermon delivered at this ſeſſion the preacher ſaid, that the authority of the church was not leſs than that of the word of God, that the changing of the ſabbath, and the aboliſhing of circumciſion, were not made by the preaching of Chriſt, but by the authority of the church; and he exhorted ſtrenuouſly to combat the Proteſtants, and to be aſſured that, as the Holy Spirit could not err, ſo neither could they. It was eaſy to imagine of what nature would be the proceedings of a council which was opened in this manner. In the title of the council, alſo, the liberty of propoſing queſtions was given excluſively to the legates, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of ſome prelates from Spain.

In the seſſion of the 26th of February, perſons were appointed to draw up an *Index Expurgatorius*, or a liſt of ſuch books as were prohibited to be read without an expreſs licence, to be laid before the council. Then followed a long diſcuſſion of ſome articles of reformation, eſpecially reſpecting *reſidence*, in which the Spaniſh prelates, inſtigated, it was thought, by the king (Philip II) appeared to be unfavourable to the power of the pope with reſpect to the divine right of reſidence. This ſo much alarmed the court of Rome, that the pope ſaid if the princes abandoned him, he would have recourſe to heaven, and God would take care of his church. He ſaid, however, he had one million in gold, and knew where to find another; ſo that he did not wholy truſt to divine aid. On this account the deciſion of this queſtion of the right of reſidence was deferred to another ſeſſion.

After this the ambaſſador of the emperor propoſed twenty articles of reformation, but the legates declined the conſideration of them at that time. And the pope found himſelf ſo much embarraſſed with the affairs of the council, and ſo much diſſatisfied with his legates, that he ſent Charles Viſconti, biſhop of Ventimille, as his ſecret miniſter to Trent, with inſtructions to encourage the prelates who were friendly to him, and to gain others if poſſible.

After

After long debates on the ſubject of *communion* which had been long deferred, it was decreed that no divine law made communion in both kinds neceſſary, but that communion in one kind only was ſufficient; alſo that it was not neceſſary for infants to communicate. They then decreed nine articles of reformation, reſpecting holy orders, the duty of biſhops, &c. So little, however, was done in this ſeſſion, from which ſo much had been expected, from the intereſt that the princes took in the queſtions, that when the reſult was known, the fable of the mountain bringing forth a mouſe, was commonly applied to it.

In diſcuſſing the ſubject of the *maſs*, to which the members of the council proceeded in the next place, it was agreed that it ſhould be done by the theologians of the different countries; and there being none yet come from France, the ambaſſadors from that country intreated the members, that they would wait till their arrival, but they could not ſucceed; the perſons to whom they applied always ſaying that it did not depend upon them. When the miniſter of France at Rome applied to the pope on the ſubject, he replied that he ſhould leave it to the legates. On which it was ſaid by the miniſter at Trent. "The pope refers "us to his legates, the legates to the ſynod, and

"the ſynod is not at liberty to hear any propoſal. "and thus both the king and the world are de- "ceived."

After much debate and intrigue of the friends of the pope againſt the ambaſſadors of the princes, who wiſhed them to proceed to ſome articles of ſerious reformation, and not take up their time in diſputing about things which no way reſpected the Proteſtants, on the 17th of September the ſeſſion was held, in which ſeveral decrees were made reſpecting the ſacrifice of the maſs, and then ſome articles of reformation relating to the *qualification and conduct of biſhops*. The queſtion concerning giving the cup to the laity was alſo included in the articles of reformation, and not thoſe of doctrines, and left to the diſcretion of the pope. It was not made an article of faith becauſe, according to the rules they had laid down, an article of faith could not be decided but by a great majority of voices, which in this caſe was not expected, while all articles of reformation were decided by ſimple majorities.

The French were particularly diſſatisfied with the proceedings of the council at this time, complaining that nothing to any purpoſe was done in the buſineſs of reformation, which all catholics wiſhed for, or to ſatisfy the Proteſtants, who would never accede to the decrees of a council in which they

they had no voice. The pope, apprehenſive of the arrival of the cardinal of Lorraine among the other prelates from France, endeavoured privately to prevent his coming; and at the ſame time by openly ſending more of his own prelates, he ſhowed him that his coming would not anſwer any purpoſe of oppoſition, as he was ſure to be over ruled.

No remonſtrances from any of the catholic princes deterred the legates from proceeding as they had begun; and in the next place they propoſed the diſcuſſion of ſome articles relating to *holy orders*. On this the ambaſſador of the emperor obſerved, that when they entered upon this ſubject they had a good opportunity of correcting a great abuſe in church diſcipline, by declaring the epiſcopal order to be of divine authority, and reſtoring to the biſhops what had been taken from them by reſervations, and other methods of the court of Rome, and by the incroachment of the cardinals on their authority. By this means, he ſaid, the court of Rome had not only become corrupt itſelf, but had carried corruption into all other churches.

Alarmed at theſe obſervations, the pope now wiſhed by any means, diſſolution, prorogation, or ſuſpenſion, to get rid of the council; but this was diſagreeable to many of the prelates who

were friendly to him, as well as to the French. He endeavoured, however, to get the article concerning the obligation of reſidence to be diſpatched before the arrival of the cardinal of Lorraine, and if poſſible by reference to himſelf, or by any means rather than by declaring it to be by divine right, as well as the inſtitution of biſhops. And as to the pontificate, and his court, he was determined at all events that no reformation ſhould be made reſpecting them but by himſelf.

He was well aware that, had the epiſcopal order been declared to be of divine right, which was much urged in the council, it would follow that the keys were not given to Peter alone, that the council was above the pope, that biſhops were his equals, and only gave him a certain pre-eminence over them, that the ſuperiority of cardinals to biſhops would be entirely overturned, and they would be reduced to the rank of ſimple preſbyters or deacons. The obligation to reſidence would be a neceſſary conſequence, the biſhops would draw to themſelves the collation to benefices, preventions and reſervations would be deſtroyed, and the power of the court of Rome would be wholy annihilated. Among other methods to prevent this meaſure, Lainez, the general of the Jeſuits was employed to make a long ſpeech, in order to prove that the whole power of juriſdiction belonged

longed to the pope. Happily for the pope this excited no debate, and occaſioned the legate no difficulty. Being preſſed on all ſides, he thought of relieving himſelf by propoſing that reſidence ſhould be enforced by rewards and puniſhments, without declaring any thing concerning the moral obligation.

In this ſtate of things arrived the long expected cardinal of Lorraine, and he was received with all poſſible reſpect, all the legates meeting him at the gate of the city, and conducting him to his lodgings. He did not, on the whole, appear ſo hoſtile to the intereſts of the pope as had been apprehended, but he gave much umbrage by holding private congregations in his own houſe upon every ſubject of diſcuſſion, as it was feared this might divide the council, and even lead to an open ſchiſm. But the Roman prelates had a ſecret underſtanding with the Spaniards, by means of which they were apprized of all that paſſed in thoſe congregations; and the king of Spain, tho' he wiſhed for ſome reformation, was ſufficiently favourable to the pope.

When the cardinal came to the great ſubject in debate, he ſpoke much at large, and in ſuch a manner as not greatly to offend either party. The church, he ſaid, had received its juriſdiction immediately from God, that when the keys were given

en to Peter, it was not to his perſon, but as reſpecting the whole church; that the biſhops received from God that part of their juriſdiction which is attached to their order, that councils alſo had their authority from God; but then they muſt be united to their head, and that nothing could preſerve the union of the church, but the ſtrengthening the pontifical authority; and he concluded with adviſing not to ſay abſolutely that the authority of the biſhops was of *divine right*, but to uſe ſome other expreſſion, as that they were *inſtituted by Jeſus Chriſt*.

This, however, did not ſatisfy the pope, who was much diſturbed at the turn which he perceived things were taking; and in his letter to the legates inſiſted on their forming the canon in this manner, viz. that Jeſus Chriſt had inſtituted biſhops to be appointed by the pope, from whom they receive ſuch portion of authority as he ſhould judge proper to give them for the good of the church; and that with reſpect to reſidence, he ſhould have the power of diſpenſing with it. The pope himſelf conſtantly aſſiſted at the congregations that were held in Rome on the affairs of the council, and after much debate it was agreed, that the canon ſhould expreſs that biſhops held the principal place in the church, but in dependance on the pope, who invited them to relieve him of part of his charge.

About

About this time the ambaſſadors from France preſented to the council thirty-four articles of reformation, which they ſaid were neceſſary for other churches, as well as theirs. When they were ſent to Rome, the pope, on the firſt reading of them, cried out that they meant nothing leſs than aboliſhing the datary, the rota, and the lordſhips, and in ſhort the whole of the apoſtolical authority. But he was given to underſtand that if they granted a few things only, ſuch as the Proteſtants moſt wiſhed for, as the communion in both kinds, the uſe of the vulgar tongue, and the marriage of the prieſts, the reſt would be diſpenſed with.

At the ſame time the legates had no ſmall difficulty with reſpect to the emperor, who was diſpleaſed that ſo little progreſs was made in the council, and had propoſed for diſcuſſion by his own divines ſeventeen articles relating to the power of the emperor with reſpect to councils, and this gave the pope no leſs diſturbance than the articles from France. But he had recourſe to diſſimulation to parry the blow, and perceiving that both the emperor and the king of France had no other views in the council than their own convenience with reſpect to their Proteſtant ſubjects, whereas the king of Spain had only catholic ſubjects, he determined to attach himſelf to him; and his ambaſſador aſſured him that he would maintain his authority.

The

The legates finding much difficulty in conducting the council at this time, relieved themſelves a little by propoſing for condemnation eight articles maintained by the Proteſtants relating to marriage. They would alſo have put off the ſeſsion, which had been fixed for the 22d of April, to the 3d of June, but they were over-ruled by the cardinal of Lorraine, at whoſe propoſal they agreed to meet on the 20th of May, in order to fix the time of the ſeſsion. But this deference to the cardinal diſpleaſed the pope, who remonſtrated with the ſecular powers on their conduct with reſpect to the council; aſſuring them that they would gain nothing with their Proteſtant ſubjects, whoſe diſcontents aroſe chiefly from the abuſes of the civil power; that the hindrances of the reformation did not ariſe from him, but from the princes, and the prelates of the council, who could not agree upon the articles.

In the mean time the king of France having made peace with his Proteſtant ſubjects, which gave great offence both to the pope and the king of Spain, took little intereſt in the affairs of the council; and the cardinal of Lorraine complained loudly that the council had no liberty, but that the deciſion of every thing came from Rome; and in the congregation on the abuſe of holy orders he inveighed ſo vehemently againſt thoſe which prevailed

vailed in France, that it was ſaid he ſpoke like a Lutheran. He was, however, adviſed by the queen not to oppoſe the meaſures of the pope any farther than the intereſts of his own country, and his own honour might require. His preſence, ſhe ſaid, was more neceſſary in France, than at Trent; and on this it was obſerved that he ſtudied to oblige the pope as much as he could.

The next ſeſſion was fixed for the 15th of July, and in the mean time the debates about the power of the biſhops, and the queſtion about the ſole power of the legates to propoſe queſtions in the council, led to no concluſion that could ſatisfy any party; what even the legates agreed to the pope rejecting. And at length the emperor, finding that he gained nothing by his neighbourhood to the council, left Inſpruck the 25th of June and the decree was drawn up in ſuch a manner as to avoid what was moſt offenſive to all parties, declaring holy orders to be a real ſacrament, imparting an indelible character, that biſhops are ſuperior to prieſts, and have the ſole power of adminiſtering confirmation, ordination and other functions. The decree of reformation related to reſidence, and conſiſted of eighteen articles. Thus it appeared that, after ten months of diſpute and negociation, nothing of the leaſt conſequence was done; all the decrees on the much conteſted ſubject of reſidence amounting

amounting to no more than that it was a ſin not to reſide when there was no lawful cauſe to the contrary. This deciſion produced an open rupture between the Spaniards and the cardinal of Lorraine, who, they ſaid, had broken his word with them, and had been gained by the pope.

The pope and his friends having found ſo much difficulty in the management of the council, were more than ever intent upon putting an end to it, and endeavoured to perſuade the princes that all their attempts to gain the Proteſtants were in vain, that they ought rather to keep them at as great a diſtance as poſſible, that all fair means had been tried without producing any effect, and that it was only by extreme rigour that they had been ſuppreſſed in Spain. He added that he ſhould think himſelf more obliged to them to aſſiſt him in putting an end to the council, than if, in ſome great diſtreſs, they had lent him the aid of their arms.

In order to avoid diſputes on ſubjects of greater difficulty, the members of the council proceeded in the next place to conſider the queſtions relating to *marriage*, when it was univerſally agreed to maintain the celebacy of the clergy, but they differed much on other points. Among the articles of reformation for this ſeſſion, they had

propoſed

propoſed ſome relating to the *princes*, but they were perſuaded to drop them. Their great difficulty was to ſatisfy the biſhops, who wiſhed to have more power in their dioceſes, and yet to ſecure the revenues of the court of Rome; and they ſucceeded in ſome meaſure by giving the biſhops the appointment of the curés, on the pretence of examining their qualifications; but the biſhops could not ſucceed in getting the monaſteries to depend upon them as in former times.

At this time the cardinal of Lorraine paid a viſit to the pope, by whom he was received with every mark of reſpect; and finding his intereſt to be the ſame with that of the pope, who hinted to him that it was his wiſh that he ſhould be his ſucceſſor, he joined heartily with the pope in his endeavours to bring the council to a termination; and he perſuaded the pope that it would be better to do this by diſſolution than by ſuſpenſion. "It "is abſolutely neceſſary," ſaid the pope, "to cloſe "the council, and raiſe money. After that it will "be as pleaſes God."

The immunities of the clergy, and other articles of reformation which tended to abridge the power of the princes, being propoſed for reformation, met with a violent oppoſition, eſpecially from the ambaſſadors from France, who at length entered a proteſt againſt them, and left the council.

They maintained that the authority of the kings of France over the perſons and goods of the clergy was not founded on the Pragmatic ſanction, the Concordat, or the conceſſions of the popes, but on the law of nature, the ſcriptures, antient councils, and the laws of chriſtian emperors. And, on the remonſtrance of all the ambaſſadors, the articles for the reformation of princes were omitted.

From this time the views of all parties were united in a reſolution to put an end to the council as ſpeedily as poſſible; and for this purpoſe the pope ſent his inſtructions, directing his legates to conſult with the cardinal of Lorraine, who, he ſaid, was fully informed concerning his wiſhes. He alſo preſcribed the form in which they ſhould conclude. They were to confirm all that had been done in the council in the time of his predeceſſors, but with a ſaving of the authority of the holy ſee, and a reference to himſelf for the confirmation of the whole.

The next ſeſſion was held the 11th of November, and in this ſome decrees were paſſed relating to marriage, when all clandeſtine marriages were declared to be annulled, tho' fifty ſix biſhops expreſſed their diſſent. Alſo twenty one articles of reformation about vacancies in churches, pluralities, provincial councils, and other ſubjects, concluding with an explanation of the phraſe *proponentibus*

nentibus legatis, by which it was declared that it was not the intention of the council to depart from the antient forms, and the cuſtom of other general councils. On this occaſion the cardinal of Lorraine declared, in the name of the clergy of France, that he accepted the decrees of reformation as a ſtep to a more complete reform, which he expected from the pope, either by his reviving the antient canons, or holding other general councils; and he had his proteſt entered in the public acts. This proteſt gave as much offence to the zealous catholics as thoſe made by Luther. The decrees of this ſeſſion were much cenſured, and the explanation of the clauſe *legatis proponentibus* was ridiculed, as being contrary to what was well known to be fact, an innovation having been actually made.

For the laſt ſeſſion decrees were prepared concerning purgatory, indulgences, the invocation of ſaints, and the worſhip of relics, and of images; and for an article of reformation they choſe ſome regulations concerning the monks and nuns. In ſome of the congregations they diſcuſſed the buſineſs of an *Index Expurgatorius*, the catechiſm, and the ritual. At this time the cardinal de Luna from Spain preſented a memorial, complaining that nothing was done about the principal matters for

which the council had been called, and that every thing elſe had been precipitated; but no regard was paid to his remonſtrance.

Another circumſtance which haſtened the diſſolution of the council was the ſickneſs of the pope, the greater part of the prelates, as well as the pope himſelf, being deſirous that another ſhould be choſen in the uſual manner without the intervention of the council; while thoſe from France declared that their maſter would acknowledge no pope who ſhould not be choſen by it. In this ſtate of things they anticipated the next ſeſſion, fixing it for the 3d of December, and declared that it ſhould be the laſt, and that it ſhould continue two days. The decrees on the ſubjects propoſed were numerous, but not of ſufficient conſequence to be recited here, and every thing relating to the Index expurgatorius, the catechiſm, and the breviary, were referred to the pope, as well as the confirmation of all that had been done. They alſo recited the decrees which had been paſſed in the pontificate of Paul III and Julius III, in order to preſerve the unity of the council from the beginning.

When this was done, the preſident granted a plenary indulgence, and his benediction, to all who had aſſiſted in that ſeſſion, and diſmiſſed them. Then the cardinal of Lorraine began the uſual acclamation

clamations, expreſſive of their joy at the happy termination of the council; wiſhing long life and glory to the pope, eternal happineſs to Paul III, and Julius III, bleſſing the memory of Charles V, and the other princes who had favoured the council; praiſing the faith of this council, as that of St. Peter, of the Fathers, &c. &c. and anathematizing all heretics in general. In the laſt place, all the members of the council ſigned the decrees with their own hands; when there appeared to be four legates, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty five archbiſhops, one hundred and ſixty eight biſhops, ſeven abbots, thirty nine deputies of abſent biſhops, and ſeven generals of orders.

The pope, who was recovered from his illneſs, expreſſed his joy on the termination of the council by a ſolemn proceſſion, and gave his confirmation to the decrees, reſerving to himſelf the interpretation of them. This cloſing of the council gave little ſatisfaction to the king of Spain; and the decrees of reformation were ſeverely cenſured in France, as infringing on the rights of the crown, and the liberties of the Gallican church. Both the decrees themſelves, and the manner in which the whole buſineſs had been conducted, were treated with much ridicule by the catholics in

Germany and other places, and the Proteſtants gave little attention to them.

Thus, at length, this great council, ſo earneſtly called for to promote the unity of the church, and the reformation of abuſes, was terminated, without producing any effect of the former kind, and but little of the latter; and by the dexterous management of the popes, it ſerved to ſtrengthen, rather than diminiſh, their authority. The manner in which the decrees were received even in Spain ſhows that, without the ſanction of the royal authority they would not have been binding, which gave little ſatisfaction at Rome; and all the endeavours of that court could never procure the decrees of reformation to be received in France.

SECTION

SECTION X.

Of the Reformation in Switzerland.

IT is not my intention to give ſo particular a hiſtory of the introduction of the reformation into the other ſtates of Europe, and the progreſs that it made in them, as I have done with reſpect to Germany, where it originated; but I ſhall give a general idea of the moſt important circumſtances with reſpect to them all.

It has been ſeen that the reformation in Switzerland was of as early a date as in Germany, Zuinglius having diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a reformer as ſoon as Luther, tho' his hiſtory does not make ſo great a figure; and his ideas of the euchariſt were certainly more juſt, and farther removed from thoſe of the catholics, than thoſe of Luther. In other reſpects it does not appear that their ſentiments were materially different. His general hiſtory being given in that of Luther, it is only neceſſary to add a more particular account of his death, eſpecially as the circumſtances of it have been often repreſented to his diſadvantage.

When the people of Zurich were ſo much offended at the inſolence with which they were treated by the catholic cantons, that, unable to obtain any redreſs, they forbad all commerce with them, and were proceeding to other acts of hoſtility, Zuinglius remonſtrated againſt ſuch conduct, and earneſtly exhorted them to bear every thing with patience, as became chriſtians, but without effect (*Ruchat*, Vol. 3, p. 351) and at length mutual provocations brought on a war. Then by the order of the magiſtrates, who expected much from the influence that Zuinglius would have with the ſoldiers, he accompanied the army, as it was the cuſtom for the clergy to do. They always wore armour on theſe occaſions, but were not required to uſe it, except for neceſſary ſelf defence, their buſineſs being to exhort the troops, and afford them all the ſpiritual aſſiſtance that their circumſtances might require.

It was evident that Zuinglius, who diſapproved of the war, expected a fatal termination of it, and during the march he ſpoke as a man deſtined to die. The battle, which was fought at Cappele in A. D. 1531, was ill conducted, and the Zurichers completely defeated. Zuinglius was found by the enemy wounded, but not mortally; and not being known was offered his life if he would recite ſome catholic prayers; but refuſing

to

to do this he was killed outright, and he died in as pious and edifying a manner, as the circumſtances of his death would permit. The laſt words he uttered were, that "men might kill the body, "but could not kill the ſoul." This was in the forty eighth year of his age. When his body was known, it was treated with the greateſt indignity, being quartered, and burned together with a hog; that if any attempt ſhould be made to gather his aſhes, they might not be diſtinguiſhed.

After a war deſtructive to both parties, but more particularly ſo to the reformed, peace was made on terms of the mutual toleration of religion, all their political relations remaining as before.

Next to the people of Zurich, thoſe of Berne were the moſt zealous and active in promoting the reformation. The altars and images were removed from all the churches in the eſtates of Berne by order of the magiſtrates in A. D. 1536, and the exerciſe of the catholic religion was ſtrictly forbidden under heavy penalties. Thoſe who profeſſed it were, however, allowed to ſell their effects, and retire whither they pleaſed. While the Genevans were catholics, they entered very little into their intereſts, but eſpouſed their cauſe with warmth when they diſcovered an inclination to adopt their religion.

In 1532, which was four years after they had

publicly embraced the reformation, reflecting on the difficulties they had met with, they held a ſolemn ſynod, at which two hundred and thirty miniſters attended; and then they made many regulations which were drawn up in proper form by Capito, who attended from Straſburgh. But, unfortunately, they began with laying it down as a maxim, that nothing could be done effectually without the co-operation of the civil power, as the miniſters of God for the preſervation of doctrine and diſcipline in the church; and that it was part of their office to puniſh blaſphemy, as well as open ſins, as they would be anſwerable for their conduct at the tribunal of God.

"It is objected," they ſay in their public act, "that it was erecting a new papacy for the magiſ-"trates to interfere in matters of faith"? To this they anſwer that "it would be true, if the ma-"giſtrates ſhould violate the rights of conſcience, "and take away chriſtian liberty; but that this "cannot be while their only care is that the truth "be clearly preached, and men be exhorted to "piety;" not conſidering that, in ſetting themſelves up for judges of truth, and obliging others to conform to their ſtandard, they neceſſarily infringed the rights of their conſciences. The decrees of this ſynod were confirmed by the magiſtrates, who promiſed to enforce them by their authority

thority. At the ſame time, however, they profeſſed their readineſs to receive any propoſals for improvement, as they ſaid they wiſhed to give free courſe to the Holy Spirit.

The Anabaptiſts gave them frequent opportunities to carry their perſecuting maxims into execution. Several of this perſuaſion having returned from baniſhment, with which they firſt puniſhed them, were drowned, according to another decree which they made for that purpoſe. In A. D. 1533, they made a new law only forbidding their preaching, but ordered that, in caſe of diſobedience, they ſhould be confined for life, and fed on bread and water. But this being thought too tolerant, they farther ordered that all Anabaptiſts ſhould attend divine ſervice, and have their children baptized; that in caſe of non attendance they ſhould for the firſt offence be impriſoned a day and a night, for the ſecond two days. They alſo ordered that any other perſons who neglected to attend public worſhip and receiving the Lord's Supper ſhould be puniſhed in the ſame manner.

Two other great promoters of the reformation in Switzerland were Henry Bullinger, and William Farel. Bullinger was born at Bremgarte, in A. D. 1502, and ſtudied at Cologne, where reading the books of Luther, he embraced the reformation

mation. He returned to his own country in A. D. 1525, and promoted the reformation in the free balliages of Switzerland. He was ſix years a lecturer in theology in a monaſtery near the lake of Zurich, and preached in ſeveral churches in the country.

But no man after Zuinglius contributed ſo much to the reformatiou of many places in Switzerland as William Farel. He was born of wealthy parents at Gap in Dauphiné in A. D. 1489, and ſtudied at Paris. Flying from the perſecution in France, he came to Strafburg in A. D. 1523, where he became acquainted with Capito and Bucer. In A. D. 1524 he came to Baſil, where he publiſhed ſome theſes in favour of the reformation; and tho' favoured by the magiſtrates, the clergy at length compelled him to leave that city. In A. D. 1526 he was at Montbelliard, and the greater part of A. D. 1522 at Aigle, and thence he went to Morat.

In A. D. 1532 Farel went to Geneva, but was ſoon obliged to leave that city. He was, however, ſucceeded by Froment, a man of equal zeal, and equally indefatigable; and by the labours of theſe two men (for Farel ſoon returned) joined with thoſe of Viret, the reformation was publicly received in Geneva in A. D. 1535. In conſequence of this the citizens were expoſed to great difficulties

ties from the oppoſition and deſertion of many of the citizens, and the open hoſtility of their biſhop and the duke of Savoy. But they were effectually ſupported by the people of Berne. When their troubles were over, they carried their ſcheme of reformation into complete effect, but in ſuch a manner as to bear hard on the conſcientious catholics, chiefly at the inſtance of Farel.

When every thing relating to the reformation at Geneva was ſettled, John Calvin paſſing through that city was detained there by Farel. This eminent man was born July the 10th A. D. 1509, at Noyon in Picardy, of an honourable family, and in good circumſtances. He was educated at Paris, and being, on account of his early piety, deſtined for the church, his father procured for him a benefice in the cathedral of Noyon, when he was only twelve years old, and five or ſix years after a curacy in the village from which the family ſprung, and where he ſometimes preached, tho' without having taken orders. Both the father and the ſon having embraced the reformation, Calvin applied to the ſtudy of the law at Orleans, and in this he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, tho' his favourite ſtudy was theology, and with this view he learned both Greek and Hebrew.

On the death of his father in A. D. 1533, Calvin went to Paris, where becoming acquainted with

with ſome eminent reformers, he devoted himſelf wholly to the ſame object with them. Being obliged to leave Paris, he went to Nerac, but returned in A. D. 1534; tho' he kept himſelf concealed on account of the perſecution of the reformed. There too he became acquainted with Servetus, whom he afterwards procured to be burned alive at Geneva. The violence of the perſecution increaſing, Calvin retired to Straſburg, after publiſhing at Orleans a treatiſe to prove that the ſoul does not ſleep from the time of death to the reſurrection.

At Straſburgh Calvin became acquainted with Grynæus and Capito, and there he publiſhed his *Inſtitutions of the Chriſtian Religion*, a work much admired to this day for the excellence of its language and method, and which he dedicated to Francis I. From Straſburgh he went to Italy, to ſee the dutcheſs of Ferrara, the daugther of Lewis XII, whom he confirmed in the principles of the reformation, and who always retained a particular reſpect for him. In A. D. 1536 he returned to France, and intending to ſettle at Straſburgh, or Baſil, he came to Geneva, where he was perſuaded by Farel to ſtay and labour with him and his companions there. He was preſently made profeſſor of theology, and afterwards paſtor, being then twenty ſeven years of age. From this time he

he continued twenty eight years at Geneva, in all which time his labours in preaching, and writing, were inceſſant, tho' his conſtitution was weak; and his influence with the magiſtrates ſeems to have been very great.

SECTION XI.

Of the Reformation in the Low Countries.

AS the people in Low countries diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their application to manufactures and commerce more than any other people in Europe, a long time before the reformation, we are not ſurprized to find many inquiſitive perſons among them. About the end of the fifteenth century ſome of the clergy, as Weſſel of Groningen, John of Amſterdam, John Van Gooch, and ſome others, attacked various errors of the church of Rome. The laſt mentioned of theſe openly maintained that the writings of Thomas Aquinas, and the other ſchoolmen, were

fitter

fitter to darken the truth than to diſcover it, that the ſcriptures were the only rule of faith, and that the decrees of popes and of councils ought to be judged by that rule. *Brandt*, Vol. 1, p. 12.

The doctrine of Luther ſpread ſo early, and ſo much in the Low Countries, that in A. D. 1521, a placard was publiſhed by Charles V to ſtop its progreſs. In this it was ſaid that Luther was not a human creature, but a devil in the ſhape of a man, and the habit of a monk, that he might the more eaſily occaſion the death and deſtruction of mankind.

The year following, G. Grapheus, a man of learning, and a great friend of Eraſmus, was ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment for the freedom of his writings; and in the ſame year Henry Voes, and John Eſh were burned alive at Antwerp, as was mentioned before; and from this time, ſays Eraſmus, the doctrine of Luther began to be in vogue in that city. The nuns of Holland, he ſays, ran from their convents, and moſt of the inhabitants of Holland, Zealand, and Flanders embraced the doctrine of Luther; and notwithſtanding the execution of Voes and Eſh at Antwerp, the Lutherans continued to hold their aſſemblies without the walls of that city. In theſe circumſtances Margaret daughter of the emperor Maximilian, governeſs of the Low Countries, very wiſer

wiſely exhorted the monks to admit none into their pulpits but learned and prudent perſons, who would tell no idle ſtories; and ſhe particularly enjoined them not to make any mention of Luther in their ſermons.

In A. D. 1527 the doctrine of the Anabaptiſts began to ſpread in the Low Countries, and John Waden and two other perſons were the firſt of this ſect who ſuffered death for it. They were burned with a ſlow fire at the Hague. Some of this denomination were afterwards guilty of great diſorders, eſpecially about the time that Muncer appeared in Germany.

In A. D. 1531 Margaret dying, Mary, the emperor's ſiſter, was made governeſs of the Low Countries. She was a lover of learning, and diſpoſed to moderation, but ſhe could not prevent the perſecution of the reformers. In A. D. 1533 the courts of judicature finding that the reformation ſpread in conſequence of the public execution of thoſe who were condemned to death, repreſented to her that it would be better to have the executions private, and ſhe allowed them to act as they thought beſt. In A. D. 1536 William Tindal, who had tranſlated the bible into Engliſh, was apprehended at Antwerp, and burned on that account.

The Anabaptiſts being every where more obnoxious than any other of the reformers, a man was put to death in A. D. 1539 for only harbouring Menno Simons, a leader of that ſect, and from whom all of that perſuaſion in that country were afterwards called *Mennonites*. He was a man of learning, at firſt a Romiſh prieſt, and a great oppoſer of the Anabaptiſts, tho' he joined them afterwards. In A. D. 1543, a reward of one hundred florins was offered to any perſon who would apprehend Menno.

In A. D. 1540 the emperor, arriving in the Low Countries to ſuppreſs an inſurrection at Ghent, publiſhed a violent placard againſt both the Lutherans and the Anabaptiſts, which was followed by a great perſecution. One of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the martyrs in the Low Countries at this time was Angelus Merula, who had taken orders at Utrecht. Being old, and much eſteemed for his learning, probity, charity, and eloquence, tho' the inquiſitors were very deſirous of having him burned, they for a long time did not venture to do it, for fear of the people. They therefore, continued to deceive him into a ſeeming abjuration of his opinions, when he meant no ſuch thing. This loſing him the affection of the people he was apprehended, and condemned to the flames; but

while

while he was kneeling down to pray before his execution, being extremely feeble, he fell down, and was taken up dead. He had been in a ſtate of perſecution five years, the greater part of which he had paſſed in priſon, where he experienced the moſt cruel uſage.

In A. D. 1559 Philip II left the Low Countries, and went to Spain, where the reformation had begun to make ſome progreſs, leaving his natural ſiſter Margaret, dutcheſs of Parma, governeſs, with orders to extirpate all hereſy. The ſame ſtrict orders were given to the governors of all the provinces; and from this time the perſecution raged with peculiar violence, and being accompanied with oppreſſion in civil matters, did not end but with the loſs of theſe provinces to Spain.

SECTION XII.

Of the Reformation in Spain.

THE overbearing power of the court of Spain, and the rigour of the inquiſition, ſoon ſuppreſſed the reformation in that country; but notwithſtanding this Spain can boaſt of its Proteſtant martyrs, and many, no doubt, there were, whom we have not at preſent any means of diſcovering.

The firſt perſon that ſuffered martyrdom in Spain for being a Proteſtant was Nicolas Burton, an Engliſh factor. He was burned at Seville in the reign of queen Mary. All his goods and notes were ſeized, and the perſon ſent to claim them was impriſoned on the ſuſpicion of hereſy. *Geddes's Tracts*, Vol. 1, p. 456.

In A. D. 1558 Auguſtin Cazala, who had been ſeveral years chaplain and preacher to Charles V in Germany, after undergoing the cruelties of the inquiſition, in which his mother died, was burned together with three more, on account of his faith.

At

At the ſame time with Cazala was burned Herezulo, who had been his convert. He was an eminent lawyer. A perſon who was preſent at his execution ſaid, "I obſerved all his geſtures (for he could not ſpeak, having his mouth gagged) "but I could not diſcover the leaſt ſign of uneaſineſs in him." After ſeveral years impriſonment his mother alſo was burned, and ſuffered, it is ſaid, with as much fortitude as if ſhe had been made of ſtone, and had not been fleſh and blood. There alſo was burned Dr. Perez, a ſecular prieſt of great learning, and exemplary piety. Soon after don Carlos de Seſo, a nobleman of an illuſtrious family, was burned with forty others, one of them, John Sancho, who had been a ſervant of Cazala. "Theſe," ſays the writer of the *Pontifical*, "endured burning alive with a courage that aſtoniſhed all that beheld them." Don John Egidio another favourite preacher of Charles V, and who had been nominated to the biſhopric of Tortoſa, died in the inquiſition, and was afterwards burned as an impenitent heretic.

Conſtantio Pontio, chaplain, and as ſome ſay confeſſor, to Charles V, and appointed by him to attend his ſon to Flanders, as the moſt learned man, and the moſt eloquent preacher, in Spain, alſo died in the priſon of the inquiſition; and his body, together with ſeveral of his writings, were

burned at an act of faith. When Charles heard that Conſtantio was taken up as a heretic, he ſaid that if he was one, he was not an ordinary one, alluding to his great learning and piety.

The monaſtery of St. Iſidore was a great ſeminary of Proteſtantiſm in Spain. Five monks were taken from it and burned, and twelve made their eſcape from it to Geneva. D. Geddes gives an account of ſeveral more whoſe ſufferings were well deſerving of being recorded, and adds, that they were but a ſmall part of the glorious army of Spaniſh martyrs, who were burned by the inquiſition, and who for the exemplary piety of their lives, and their admirable patience and courage, triumphed over death in the moſt dreadful of all its forms, not inferior to the martyrs of any other nation, or any age. *Spaniſh Proteſtant Martyrology*, p. 473.

It is ſomething remarkable that many of the great perſecutors, both of Chriſtians and Proteſtants, have either come to untimely end, or have ſuffered in ſome other exemplary manner. Philip II may be added to thoſe that are enumerated by Lactantius in his treatiſe *De Mortibus Perſecutorum*. He had been ſeized with a hectic fever, which reduced him very much, when he was attacked with a violent fit of the gout, on St. John's eve. The acrimony of the juices produced an abſceſs which

firſt broke out at his knee, and then in ſeveral parts of his body; and from theſe abſceſſes iſſued ſwarms of lice, which could not be removed. He was alſo diſeaſed in ſeveral other ways. The purulent matter from his ulcers exhaled ſuch a ſtench, that the ſervants who attended him were infected by it. He was inſupportable to himſelf, and died in the moſt agonizing pain. *Laval*, Vol. 5, p. 318.

SECTION XIII.

Of the Reformation in France.

THE diſputes about indulgences in Germany did not paſs unnoticed in France, eſpecially after the cenſure of the writings of Luther by the Sorbonne; and the reformation received much countenance from William Briſſonet biſhop of Meaux, who, tho' it was then unuſual, preached himſelf; and beſides this, employed ſeveral learned men, and of excellent characters, to preach in his dioceſe. Of this number were James Faber, and William Farel, who ſo greatly promoted the reformation in Switzerland. By this means

the reformation ſpread in Meaux, tho' chiefly among the lower orders of the people. Of theſe John Le Clerc, a carder, was in A. D. 1523 ſentenced to be whipped and branded in the forehead, and after this he was burned alive at Metz in A. D. 1524. Many others ſuffered in the ſame manner, and, terrified probably by theſe examples, the good biſhop, tho' a friend to the reformation, proceeded no farther. This cruelty, however, did not put a ſtop to the progreſs of the reformation in other places. It was received by many in Orleans, Bourges, Thouloufe, and in every part of the kingdom.

The reformation was more particularly countenanced by Margaret queen of Navarre, ſiſter to Francis I. She publiſhed a treatiſe entitled *The mirror of the ſinner's ſoul*, the ſentiments of which were entirely agreeable to thoſe of the reformers. The king himſelf was at one time ſo well diſpoſed, that he invited Melancthon to go to France, that he might hear him on the ſubject of the matters in diſpute; but he was offended at the extreme zeal and violence of ſome of the reformers, who fixed their charges againſt the tenets of the church of Rome in the public places, and to the door of the king's own apartment. Alſo, his affairs requiring the aid of all his ſubjects, and that of the pope, he perſecuted the reformed during

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ing the whole of his reign more than he was naturally inclined to do; and tho' he at the ſame time wiſhed for the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtants in Germany againſt Charles V. On the whole, however, the reformation made ſuch progreſs in France in this reign, that there was hardly any city or town in which the reformed had not ſome aſſemblies. *Laval*, Vol. 1, p. 69.

Henry II, as an evidence of his zeal for the catholic religion, not only cauſed many of the reformed to be put to death, but in a more cruel manner than had been uſed in his father's time; having many of them drawn up by pullies, and let down again into the fire, in order to prolong their torments. At theſe horrible executions the king himſelf was ſometimes preſent; but he was ſo much affected at the ſhrieks of one of theſe martyrs, that it was ſaid to have affected his mind all his life after. He did, not, however, change his conduct. Theſe executions contributed much to the ſpread of the reformed religion; ſo that Mezerai ſays, there was at this time no province, no town, no trade in the kingdom, where the new opinions had not taken root. The learned, the lawyers, and even the eccleſiaſtics, tho' againſt their intereſt, embraced them.

In A. D. 1559 the reformed held a national ſynod at Paris, at which they drew up forty arti-

cles of faith, and as many of diſcipline. Still, however, the perſecution went on, and the moſt illuſtrious martyr at this time was Anne Dubourg, a perſon of conſiderable note, who, after a long trial, was firſt ſtrangled, and then reduced to aſhes. At this time the reformed in France got the name of *Hugonots* as ſuppoſed from Hugo, who was ſaid to have been a king, whoſe apparition rode in the night through uninhabited places; and as the reformed reſorted to ſuch places, and often in the night, they got that appellation.

At an aſſembly held at Fontainbleau to conſult about reſtoring the peace of the kingdom, in A. D. 1560, admiral Coligni, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf as one of the chiefs of the reformed, preſented two petitions for liberty of conſcience, which he ſaid more than fifty thouſand perſons were ready to ſign; and with a view to ſupport it, he voted for a convocation of the ſtates of the kingdom. This was agreed to, and in the mean time all capital puniſhments were ſuſpended, except in caſe of a breach of the peace. But by the influence of the Guiſes this liberty was ſoon infringed, and it was reſolved that a catholic confeſſion of faith ſhould be ſigned by every perſon, and that they who refuſed ſhould forfeit their lives and eſtates. The meaſure, was however, fruſtrated by the death of Francis. II.

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At the aſſembly of the ſtates, which was held in A. D. 1561, the judges were enjoined to releaſe all priſoners on account of religion, and to reſtore them to the poſſeſſion of their eſtates; but at the ſame time it was enacted that for the future all perſons ſhould conform to the rites of the church, tho' it was made a capital crime to reproach any perſon on account of his religion. At this time alſo a conference was appointed between the catholic prelates and the reformed at Poiſſy, in which the chief ſpeaker was Theodore Beza, a colleague of Calvin at Geneva, on the part of the reformed, and the cardinal of Lorraine for the catholics. The king and the court attended. But tho' they reformed conceded more than they ought to have done with reſpect to the doctrine of the euchariſt, they broke up diſſatisfied with each other; ſo that tho' great things had been expected from the conference, it did nothing towards an union of the parties. The next year, however, an edict was publiſhed, allowing the exerciſe of the reformed religion under certain reſtrictions; and in ſome places the catholics and the reformed made uſe of the ſame churches. But notwithſtanding this the reformed ſuffered much in popular tumults, excited by the clergy and the monks.

Preſently

Preſently after this the civil war, in which religion and civil policy were about equally concerned, broke out, and kept the country in a diſturbed ſtate many years. The object of moſt of the leaders was too evidently their own agrandizement, while their followers fought, as they imagined, for their religion. We muſt, however, except the admiral Coligni, a truly great character, who ſuffered at the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, of which an account will be given in the next period. In this civil war it appeared, that the kingdom was ſo nearly equally divided, that it was often as probable that the reformed would prevail, and eſtabliſh their religion as the Catholics.

SECTION

SECTION XIV.

Of the Reformation in England.

IN England a good foundatiou was laid for the introduction of the reformation by the labours of Wickliffe and the Lollards, as his diſciples were generally called, in a preceding period, and alſo by the violence of the clergy in the perſecution of them. In London the whole body of the clergy became exceedingly obnoxious to the laity in A. D. 1515 by the murder of Richard Hunn, a merchant, who proſecuted ſome of them in the temporal courts for ſuing him for a mortuary in the courts of the legate; he alleging that they had no right by the laws of the land to bring the kings ſubjects before a foreign tribunal. Provoked at this oppoſition, and finding that he had Wickliffe's bible in his poſſeſſion, they had him apprehended as a heretic; and not being able by this means to make him deſiſt from his ſuit, the biſhop's chancellor Dr. Henry, with ſome aſſiſtants murdered him in priſon, and afterwards, hav-

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ing procured his condemnation as a heretic, his body was burned.

This atrocious conduct being conſidered as the act of the whole body of the clergy, the rage againſt them proceeded ſo far, that the biſhop of London complained that he was not ſafe in his own houſe. Hunn was ſuppoſed to have been encouraged in his proſecution of the clergy by an attack made by Dr. Standiſh, a Franciſcan, on the pretended immunities of the clergy in caſes of civil offence. After much debate the king declared againſt the clergy, but in order to give them ſome ſatisfaction, it was ſettled that when Dr. Henry was proſecuted for the murder of Hunn, no evidence ſhould appear againſt him. This conduct gave no ſatisfaction to the common people. On the contrary it greatly increaſed their diſcontent, and diſpoſed them to throw off the eccleſiaſtical tyranny. *Burnet*, Vol. 1, p. 19.

In this ſtate of things the publications in Germany, being tranſlated into Engliſh, made a great impreſſion on many perſons; and this irritating the clergy more than ever, they procured the death of ſix women, who were burned alive in Coventry, for only teaching their children the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments in Engliſh. * At this time Henry VIII became the champion

* In the beginning of the reign of Henry V an act

champion of the church by writing againſt Luther, and he was rendered more averſe to the reformation in conſequence of the aſperity with which Luther treated him in his anſwer. Notwithſtanding this, it was by means of this very king, the moſt arbitrary of any monarch of England, that divine providence was pleaſed to bring about a reformation.

Being diſſatisfied with his wife, who had been the widow of his elder brother, and ſiſter to Charles V, he in A. D. 1527 applied to the pope for a divorce; and for ſome time with a great proſpect of ſucceſs; but afterwards the pope, unwilling to diſoblige the emperor, deferred the deciſion of the cauſe ſo long, that the king, impatient at the delay, took other meaſures. At the ſuggeſtion of Cranmer, then a ſtudent at Cambridge, he conſulted the principal univerſities and divines in Europe, as their deciſion was ſufficient to ſatisfy his conſcience. They unanimouſly declaring againſt the marriage as unlawful, he was divorced from the queen, notwithſtanding her appeal to the pope, and in A. D. 1553 was married to Ann Boleyn, who was favourable to the reformation. At the ſame

paſſed which expreſſed that, whoever ſhould read the ſcriptures in their mother tongue, then called *Wickliffe's language*, they ſhould forfeit their lands, life, and goods to the king from their heirs for ever. *Neal*, Vol. 1. p. 7.

ſame time Cranmer, who was equally favourable to it, was made archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The pope, againſt his own inclination, but in compliance with the wiſhes of the emperor, declaring the former marriage valid, and requiring the king to live with the former queen as his wife, this haughty prince, notwithſtanding his attachment to the doctrines of the church, formed the deſign of ſhaking off the yoke of the pope, and in that year all intercourſe with the court of Rome, was by act of Parliament declared to ceaſe. At the ſame time it was declared that there was no deſign to relinquiſh any of the articles of the catholic faith. The monaſteries were alſo ſubjected to the king's viſitation, and the clergy in convocation aſſented to theſe acts. The year following the king was by act of Parliament declared to be *ſupreme head of the church of England*, and power was given him to reform all hereſies and abuſes in the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; alſo the firſt fruits and tenths of all church livings were given to him, as they had belonged to the pope. This was, in fact, ſetting up another eccleſiaſtical tyranny inſtead of that of the pope, attended with this abſurdity, that the head of the church was a layman. In this ſtate, however, the church of England has continued to this day.

Complaint

Complaint being made of the ſeverity of the eccleſiaſtical courts by the act of ſupremacy in the twenty ſixth of Henry VIII, the act of the ſecond of Henry IV was repealed, but thoſe of Richard II and Henry V were left in full force * with this qualification, that heretics ſhould be proceeded againſt by two witneſſes at leaſt, and could not be put to death without the king's *writ de hæretico comburendo.* Heretics were therefore now to be tried according to the forms of law. *Neal,* Vol. 1, p. 14.

In the mean time, it being thought that the pope would be more favourable to the king's di-

* By an act of Henry IV the biſhops might take into cuſtody any perſons ſuſpected of hereſy, and if they refuſed to abjure their errors, or relapſed after abjuration, they were to be delivered over to the ſecular power, and burned to death before the people. This was without trial by jury, by the biſhops in their ſpiritual courts. *Neal,* Vol. 1, p. 6.

The act of Richard II enacted that, "all who preached "ed without licence againſt the catholic faith ſhould be "arreſted, and kept in priſon till they juſtified themſelves according to the law and reaſon of holy church. "This commitment was to be by act from the chancel-"lor." In the beginning of the reign of Henry V it was enacted that "the Lollards, or Wickliffites, ſhould "forfeit all the lands they had in fee ſimple, and all their "goods and chattels to the king."

vorce by ſevere proceedings againſt the heretics, a proclamation was iſſued againſt their books and perſons, and ordering all the laws that had been enacted againſt them to be put in execution. But Tindal's tranſlation of the Bible, which was printed at Antwerp, did more to favour the reformation than all the temporal powers could do againſt it; and it being the king's intereſt to unite with the reforming princes of Germany, a ſtop was put to the perſecution.

The monks being the chief oppoſers of the reformation, a general viſitation was made of all the religious houſes in the kingdom, and the viſitors finding in them many diſorders, and the account of them being printed, a great indignation was excited againſt the whole ſyſtem. On this ſome of the monaſteries voluntarily ſurrendered their revenues to the king, and by an act of parliament in A. D. 1536, all the monaſteries whoſe revenues did not exceed two hundred pounds per annum, were ſuppreſſed. In A. D. 1537 the greater monaſteries were in like manner given up. On this occaſion the ſhrine of Thomas Becket was broken, and the gold belonging to it was ſo much, that it filled two cheſts, each of which took eight men to carry it out of the church.

That the monaſteries in general were in a very diſorderly ſtate in this reign, may be ſafely concluded

ded from what we find concerning them in the reign immediately preceding; when the diſſolute manners of the clergy, eſpecially of the regulars, were much talked of, and gave great offence to the laity; who were provoked to ſee the immenſe poſſeſſions beſtowed upon the church by the piety of their anceſtors ſo ſhamefully abuſed.

The court of Rome becoming apprehenſive that this diſcontent of the laity might have ſerious conſequences, Pope Innocent VIII ſent a bull to archbiſhop Morton in March A. D. 1490, in which he acquaints him, that "he had heard with great "grief, from perſons worthy of credit, that the "monks of all the different orders in England had "grievouſly degenerated, and that, giving themſelves up to a degenerate ſenſe, they led lewd and "diſſolute lives, by which they brought ruin upon "their own ſouls, ſet a bad example to others, "and gave great offence and ſcandal to many."

He then directed the primate to admoniſh the abbots and priors of all the convents in his province to reform themſelves, and thoſe under them; and if any of them did not obey the admonition, he gave him authority to viſit and reform them by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to cut off incurable members by deprivation, and to call the ſecular arm to his aſſiſtance when it was neceſſary.

In obedience to this bull the archbiſhop ſent monitory letters to the ſuperiors of all the convents and religious houſes in his province, admoniſhing and commanding them by the authority he had received from the pope, to reform themſelves and their ſubjects from certain vices, of which they were ſaid to be guilty, and of which he accuſed them.

The monitory letter that was ſent on this occaſion to the abbot of St. Albans has been publiſhed. If that abbot and his monks were ſtained with all the odious vices of which the primate in his letter ſays they were notoriouſly guilty, they were, ſays Dr. Henry (from whoſe *Hiſtory of England*, Vol. 12, p. 3, I quote this) a moſt execrable crew, and ſtood much in need of reformation. Some of theſe vices, he adds, are ſo deteſtable, that they cannot be ſo much as named in hiſtory.

"You are infamous," ſays he, to the abbot, for ſimony, uſury, and ſquandering the poſſeſſions of your monaſtery, beſides other enormous crimes mentioned below." One of theſe crimes was that he had turned all the modeſt women out of the two nunneries of Pray and Sapwell (over which he pretended to have a jurisdiction) and filled them with proſtitutes; that they

were

were eſteemed no better than brothels, and that he and his monks publickly frequented them as ſuch.

The archbiſhop ſeemed to be well informed; for he names ſome of thoſe infamous women and their gallants. The monks were at leaſt as profligate as their abbot. For beſides keeping concubines both within and without the monaſtery, he accuſes them of ſtealing the church plate, and jewels out of the ſhrine of their patron St. Alban. He allows them ſixty days to reform from all their vices, eſpecially from cutting down the woods, and ſtealing the plate and jewels of the monaſtery; but if they did not reform in that time, and become very chaſte, honeſt, and good monks, he threatens them with a viſitation.

What effect this monitory letter had on the abbot and his monks we are not informed. It is probable, the hiſtorian adds, that it was not great. For we learn from the ſame letter that they had been ſeveral times admoniſhed before to no purpoſe. When the monaſtics lived in idleneſs, wallowed in wealth and luxury, and were doomed to celebacy, the temptation to certain vices, he juſtly obſerves, was too ſtrong to be overcome by monitory letters, which they probably conſidered as things of courſe.

Speaking of the monaſteries after their diſſolution he ſays, p. 357, The viſitations that preceded their ſuppreſſion diſcovered, if credit be due to the inſpectors, crimes the moſt degrading to human nature. Hypocritical ſanctity, and holy frauds, he ſays, are congenial to every monaſtic inſtitution, and the counterfeit relicks impoſed on the vulgar, or the artifices practiſed to ſupport their credit, are to be regarded as the eſtabliſhed trade of religious orders. Intemperance alſo is to be expected wherever aſcetics have obtained a relaxation from rigid diſcipline. But the reports are replete with other crimes of a deeper complexion, the lewdneſs of the monks, the incontinence of the nuns, and the abortions forcibly procured by the latter, and the monſtrous luſts which the former indulged. The particulars would ſtain and diſhonour our page. Yet an hiſtorian, he ſays, anxious for the dignity of human nature, might wiſh to believe that the reports of the viſitors were inflamed by zeal, and perverted by an intereſted and malignant policy. It is difficult to conceive that they would venture, unſupported by evidence, to accuſe a community of crimes repugnant to human nature; and their veracity ſeems to be vindicated by their ſolicitude to preſerve ſome convents whoſe conduct was exemplary. But theſe crimes were apparently notorious; nor is their exiſtence doubtful, or the licentious

centious lives of the regulars diſputable, when their debaucheries had already attracted the papal indignation, and their crimes incurred the cenſures and menaces of the archbiſhop. If at the commencement of this period the monks of St. Alban had begun, in different convents, to diſplace the nuns, and ſubſtitute proſtitutes, it is not probable that their morals were afterwards improved, or their diſcipline re-eſtabliſhed.

In this year the bible was printed in Engliſh, and a copy was ordered to be put into all the churches. But notwithſtanding this, ſo zealous was the king for the doctrines of popery, that the next year Lambert, who had been aſſociated with Tindal in this tranſlation of the bible, was burned for denying the corporal preſence, and ſix articles were enforced by act of parliament in A. D. 1538 to prevent diverſity of opinion. They related to communion in one kind, the obſervance of the vows of chaſtity, private maſſes, the celebacy of the clergy, and auricular confeſſion. However, on the remonſtrance of the ambaſſador from the German princes, the king ſaid the act was neceſſary to repreſs the inſolence of ſome perſons, but that it ſhould not be carried into execution except in caſes of great provocation. *

* Many complaints being made in this reign of thoſe who had licences to preach, they, in order to juſtify

In A. D. 1547 the king died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Edward VI, a young prince, but of great capacity, and much knowledge, and a ſincere promoter of the reformation, in which he was warmly ſeconded by Cranmer, who had been expoſed to much danger in the latter part of Henry's life. One of the firſt things that was done by the privy council (which had all the royal power till the king ſhould be of age) was to procure the compoſition of certain homilies, or diſcourſes, chiefly in favour of the reformation, ordering them to be read in churches, and to direct that an Engliſh tranſlation of *Erasmus's Paraphraſe of the New Teſtament*, together with a new tranſlation of the Bible, ſhould be lodged in them all.

A ſtrict charge was alſo given for the due obſervance of the Lord's day, which was directed to be wholly employed in the duties of religion, or in acts of charity; only in time of harveſt perſons were allowed to work, as well as on other feſtival days. A general viſitation of all the churches was appointed, and in the mean time the jurisdiction

themſelves, began generally to write and read their ſermons; and this was the beginning to the preaching from notes. All preaching before this time was extempore, or from memory. *Burnet*, Vol. 1, p. 270. England is the only country in which preaching is generally from notes, the diſcourſes being carefully precompoſed.

tion of the biſhops was ſuſpended. When the parliament met, an act was paſſed to repeal that of the ſix articles, enacted in the preceding reign, and alſo all the acts againſt the Lollards. Communion in both kinds was allowed, and a new liturgy was compoſed in Engliſh. In A. D. 1549 another act was paſſed permitting the marriage of the clergy.

Unhappily, the ſpirit of the reformation was not thought to be inconſiſtent with that of perſecution, and in this year there arrived ſome Anabaptiſts from Germany, and among them ſome who "denying a trinity of perſons in the god-head, "and maintaining that Chriſt was not God, and "did not take fleſh of the virgin," were expoſed to it. The moſt diſtinguiſhed ſufferer was Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the young king, was burned alive; Cranmer perſuading him that, being God's lieutenant, he was bound in the firſt place to puniſh offences againſt God.

George Van Paris, a Dutchman, being convicted of ſaying that "God the Father was the "only God, and that Chriſt was not very God," was condemned in the ſame manner with Joan of Kent, and burned in Smithfield April 25th, A. D. 1551. He was a man of ſtrict virtue and great piety, and he ſuffered with great conſtancy, kiſſing

the ſtake and the faggots that were to burn him. Theſe caſes were juſtly brought by the catholics againſt criminals in the time of queen Mary. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 50.

Strype ſays that arianiſm ſhewed itſelf ſo openly in the reign of Edward VI, and was in ſuch danger of ſpreading, that it was thought neceſſary to ſuppreſs it by more rigid methods than ſeemed agreeable to the merciful principles of the profeſſion of the goſpel. *Lindsey's Hiſtorical View*, p. 84.

In A. D. 1550 farther progreſs was made in the reformation. Images were ordered to be defaced, all the prayers to the ſaints were ſtruck out of the primmer publiſhed by the late king, a book of ordination was publiſhed, the book of common prayer was reviſed, altars were put down, and in A. D. 1551 forty two articles of religion (the ſame that were afterwards reduced to thirty nine) were agreed on. All theſe things were confirmed in the convocation of the clergy, who in general complied with the new regulations. Alſo a reformation of the eccleſiaſtical laws was prepared.

But while things were in this progreſs, the king died, and being ſucceeded by his ſiſter Mary, who was a bigotted catholic, all the ſteps that had been taken to promote the reformation were reverſed, and the favourers of it were expoſed to a dreadful

dreadful perſecution. Cranmer was preſently impriſoned, and in the firſt parliament in this new reign all the late laws relating to religion were repealed. In A. D. 1554 the kingdom was ſolemnly reconciled to the holy ſee, and the year following many were publickly burned alive for hereſy. Cranmer at firſt recanted, but afterwards ſuffered with great heroiſm.

The firſt who ſuffered in this reign was John Rogers, a reader of divinity in St. Paul's church; and it is ſomething remarkable that he, as well as Cranmer, had approved of the burning of J. Bocher, in the preceding reign. When ſhe was under ſentence of death, a friend of Mr. Rogers earneſtly requeſted him to uſe his intereſt with the archbiſhop that ſhe might only be kept in priſon, and not put to death. When he would not conſent to this, his friend begged that he would plead for ſome eaſier kind of death than that of being burned alive. But to this Rogers replied, that burning alive was not a very cruel death, but eaſy enough. To this his friend, taking him by the hand, ſaid with peculiar earneſtneſs, "Well "perhaps it may ſo happen that you yourſelves "may have your hands full of this mild burning." *Croſby's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Baptiſts*, Vol. 1, p. 60. Whether Mr. Rogers ever changed his opinion on the ſubject of perſecution, does not appear;

pear; but, tho' a perſecutor himſelf, no perſon could behave with more firmneſs, or more propriety in all reſpects, when it came to his turn to ſuffer, than Mr. Rogers did.

It was computed that in this reign two hundred and eighty four were burned alive, many more were impriſoned, and ſixty died in priſon, or of the tortures to which they were expoſed. Many fled from this violent perſecution, eſpecially to Frankfort and other cities of Germany, where the reformation had been carried farther than in England. *Burnet*, Vol. 2, p. 304.

According to Mr. Neal the number that ſuffered death in the reign of queen Mary was not leſs than two hundred and ſeventy ſeven perſons, of whom five were biſhops, twenty one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty four tradeſmen, one hundred huſbandmen, labourers, and ſervants, fifty five women, and four children. Beſides theſe there were fifty four under perſecution, ſeven of whom were whipped. Sixteen periſhed in priſon. The reſt who were making ready for the fire, were preſerved by the death of the queen. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 66.

The Lutherans would not receive thoſe who fled from the perſecution of queen Mary, becauſe they were Sacramentarians. Melanchthon interfered

fered for them, but without effect. *Neal*, Vol. 1, p. 101. The number of refugees was about eight hundred.

But in A. D. 1558 the queen died, and being ſucceeded by Elizabeth, the reformation was reſumed. The next year the Engliſh liturgy was again uſed, and a new tranſlation of the bible was made. Many of thoſe who now returned to England were advocates for a more complete reformation, but the queen reſolutely oppoſed them, and inſiſted on a ſtrict conformity to every thing that ſhe thought proper to fix, even with reſpect to the uſe of things allowed to be in themſelves indifferent, as the popiſh veſtments, &c. On this many perſons refuſing to comply were expoſed to great hardſhips, as they continued to be in all that and the following reign of the Stuarts. Profeſſing a purer religion than that which was eſtabliſhed by law, they got the appellation of *Puritans*. Their hiſtory will be given in the next period.

SECTION

SECTION XV.

Of the Reformation in Scotland and Ireland.

SCOTLAND, in conſequence of a long ſeries of civil wars, which had almoſt deſolated the country, had not in the time of Luther its natural proportion of learned men. But notwithſtanding this diſadvantage the reformation was introduced into this country at a very early period by ſeveral perſons who had reſided in Germany; and being embraced by ſome of the nobility, and other men of great power and influence, very few ſuffered in conſequence of it. The only martyr of much note was Patrick Hamilton. He was nephew to the earl of Arran by his father, and to the duke of Albany by his mother, and an abbey was given to him for the proſecution of his ſtudies. But on his travels he became acquainted with Luther and Melancthon, and adopting their opinions he openly preached them on his return to his own country. Being, in conſequence of this, apprehended, and committed to priſon, and afterwads

appearing

appearing before Beaton archbiſhop of St. Andrews, together with the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, three biſhops, and five abbots, he was condemned as an obſtinate heretic, and ordered for execution on the afternoon of the ſame day. This was while the king was abſent on a pilgrimage; for they were apprehenſive of the friends of Mr. Hamilton making intereſt for him.

When he was faſtened to the ſtake he expreſſed great joy, and the fire not taking effect immediately for want of gun-powder, the friars vere very urgent with him to recant, and eſpecially one Campbell, who had frequently been with him in priſon. But he replied to them all with great energy, and particularly to Campbell, charging him to anſwer for his conduct before God. When the gun-powder was brought, and the fire rekindled, he died, frequently repeating *Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit.* It is remarkable that ſoon after Campbell became inſane, and died within the year, and this, as well as the behaviour of Hamilton, made a great impreſſion on the people.

After this a friar ſaying in his confeſſion to another, that he thought Hamilton was a good man, and the confeſſor diſcovering it, this was received as evidence, and he was condemned and burned. Many others were brought before the biſhop's courts,

courts, and the greater part of them abjured, but two, of the names of Gourley and Smeaton were condemned and burned.

The king, who was very expenſive both in his pleaſures and his buildings, and conſequently in great want of money, eſpecially to provide for his many natural children, being told by the clergy that from the perſecution of the heretics he might raiſe an hundred thouſand crowns a year, and provide for his children in the abbies and priories, gave into their meaſures; when a canon, regular, a ſecular prieſt, two friars, and a gentleman were burned.

The archbiſhop of Glaſgow diſliked theſe perſecuting meaſures, and when Ruſſel a friar, and Kennedy a young man of eighteen years of age were brought before him, and behaved with uncommon firmneſs and joy, he was ſtaggered, and appeared unwilling to paſs ſentence, ſaying that theſe executions did more harm to the church than good; but being urged by the clergy about him, ſaying that he muſt not act differently from the other biſhops, he pronounced the ſentence, and they were burned; but they behaved with ſo much patience and joy, as made a great impreſſion both on the ſpectators and thoſe who heard of it. George Buchanan, a moſt excellent Latin poet and hiſto-

rian,

torian, and who at the king's inſtigation had written an admirable poem entitled *Franciscanus* againſt the monks, being now abandoned by the king, fled into France, and lived twenty years in foreign countries.

The moſt active promoter of the reformation by his preaching was John Knox, a diſciple of Calvin, who came to Scotland in A. D. 1559, a man of great zeal, undaunted reſolution, and popular eloquence; and being ſupported by a ſtrong party who oppoſed the court, he was not expoſed to much perſonal danger.

Ireland followed the fate of England in all its changes with reſpect to the reformation. There all the views of Henry VIII were carried into execution by G. Brown, a monk of the order of Auſtin, who had been made archbiſhop of Dublin in A. D. 1525. He was deprived of his dignity by queen Mary, but under Elizabeth the reformation was re-eſtabliſhed in Ireland as well as in England.

SECTION XVI.

Of the Reformation in the Northern and Eaſtern Countries of Europe.

I. Of the Reformation in Sweden.

THE reformation was firſt preached in Sweden by Olaus Petri, a diſciple of Luther, ſoon after his rupture with Rome, and he was powerfully ſeconded by Guſtavus Erickſon, who had been juſt raiſed to the throne in the place of Chriſtian II king of Denmark, whoſe cruelty had made them revolt. He ſent for learned divines from Germany, and procured the ſcriptures to be tranſlated into the Swediſh language. Much reputation was alſo gained to the ſide of the reformers by a public diſputation, held by order of the king at Upſal, in A. D. 1526. The year following the aſſembly of the ſtates eſtabliſhed the reformation, and Guſtavus was declared to be head of the church of Sweden.

II. Of

II. Of the Reformation in Denmark.

Chriſtian II, tho' a tyrant, was a zealous promoter of the reformation in *Denmark*, and for this purpoſe in A. D. 1520, he ſent for Martin Raynard out of Saxony, and made him profeſſor of divinity at Copenhagen. After his death, which happened the year following, he procured Carolſtat to ſucceed him; and he making but a ſhort ſtay there, the king endeavoured to induce Luther himſelf to go thither. His views were probably ſimilar to thoſe of Henry VIII of England. He wiſhed to make himſelf independent of the pope, and to appropriate to himſelf the great church livings in his dominions.

Tho' this king was depoſed in A. D. 1523, his uncle Frederic, who ſucceeded him, was as much a friend to the reformation, and conducted himſelf with more prudence. At an aſſembly of the ſtates in A. D. 1527, he procured an edict to be publiſhed, declaring all the ſubjects of Denmark free to profeſs either the catholic religion or that of Luther, on which the greater part of the people choſe the latter. The reformation was completed by Chriſtian III, a prince of exemplary prudence and piety. He reduced the authority of the biſhops, and reſtored much of the poſſeſſions of the clergy to the heirs of the antient owners, both theſe having become exorbitant in all the northern

kingdoms. This prince ſent for Bugenhagius from Wittemberg, to draw up a plan of religious doctrine, diſcipline, and worſhip, which was approved at an aſſembly of the ſtates held at Odenſee, in A. D. 1539. Inſtead of biſhops, Chriſtian appointed *ſuperintendants* of the churches, without any temporal authority whatever.

III. Of the Reformation in Poland.

The reformation ſoon ſpread into *Poland*, both by means of the Lutherans, the reformed in Switzerland, and the Bohemian brethren, all of whom were well received by many of the nobility of that country; nor was the king himſelf ill diſpoſed towards them; and in A. D. 1555, the Proteſtants held their firſt general ſynod at Caminiec, when the confeſſion of the Bohemian brethren was read, and approved, all parties giving each other the right hand of fellowſhip, and receiving the communion together. *Crantz.*

During the long reign of Sigiſmond, which was forty two years, the German reformers poured their diſciples into Poland; and the Lutherans, aſſiſted by the Bohemian brethren, taught with ſo much ſucceſs, that popery was reduced to the loweſt ebb. Several of the nobility became their patrons, and the ſenate itſelf was filled with friends of reformation. *Robinſon*, p. 560. *IV. Of*

IV. Of the Reformation in Hungary and Tranſilvania.

The reformation was introduced into theſe countries in the year A. D. 1518 (which was only one year after Luther began to preach againſt indulgences in Germany) by means of ſome merchants who brought books on the ſubject of religion into thoſe countries; and they are among the very few in which it made a rapid progreſs with little oppoſition, or perſecution of the friends of reformation. Not that the clergy were leſs violent than in other countries, or the ſovereigns leſs diſpoſed to favour them; but they were counteracted by the grandees, whoſe power was ſuperior to that of any other order of men. In A. D. 1521 ſome merchants of Hermanſtat (Cibinium) brought ſeveral of Luther's books from Leipſic into Tranſilvania, as on the ſubject of chriſtian liberty, auricular confeſſion, penance, monaſtic vows, communion in both kinds, and on the Babyloniſh captivity; by the reading of which the eyes of many, the hiſtorian ſays, were opened.

At Vihelyinum in upper Hungary the reformation was promoted by Michael Sickloſi, and in Tranſilvania the buſineſs was undertaken by two perſons whoſe names are not certainly known, but

one of them was thought to have been Ambroſe of Sileſia, and the other George of the order of preaching friars. Theſe preached with the greateſt vehemence againſt the abuſes of popery at Hermanſtat. Complaint being made of this, they were called to appear before the biſhop of Strigonia. How they were treated by him is not ſaid, but ſoon after they left the country. The principal magiſtrate in this city at this time was Marcus Pefflinger, and a perſon of great experience and prudence. He not only read the works of Luther himſelf, but recommended the reading of them to others. He was oppoſed by Mathias Colman, but this perſon died ſoon after the conteſt began. A circumſtance that greatly contributed to promote the reformation in this city was a conteſt, probably of ſome ſtanding, between the inhabitants and their biſhop. King Lewis endeavoured by an edict dated at Buda in A. D. 1522, to check the progreſs of the reformation by ſome violent meaſures; but owing to the interceſſion of Pefflinger, and the abſence of the newly appointed biſhop who was then at Rome, the perſecution did not take place. Another ſevere edict was procured by the clergy in A. D. 1523, but nothing appears to have been done in conſequence of it.

In A. D. 1724, ſeveral perſons went from Hungary and Tranſilvania to ſtudy at Witternberg, with

with a view to qualify themſelves to promote the reformation with more effect. At the ſame time the new biſhop ſent commiſſaries with letters to the ſenate at Hermanſtat, requiring them to execute the king's edict; and in conſequence of this many of the writings of Luther were taken from the citizens, and publickly burned. Among theſe was a German pſalter of Luther, which when in flames (probably by ſome accident in ſtirring the fire, and the direction of the wind) fell upon the head of one of the commiſſaries; and whether in conſequence of the injury he received from the fire, or being, as ſome thought, ſtruck with terror, he ſoon after died. However, the only effect of this meaſure of the biſhop was that the principles of the reformation were from this time more generally and more publickly avowed than they had been before; and this, notwithſtanding another order of the biſhop, under pain of greater excommunication, to prohibit the reading of the books, and burning all that could be found of them.

In A. D. 1525 an order was procured for the baniſhment of all the Lutherans out of the kingdom, or to apprehend and burn them, but no regard was paid to it; and the ſame year the reformation was preached at Buda, where the court reſided, by Simon Grynœus, and Vitus Weir-

ſhemius, the preſidents of the public ſchools in that city. But being obliged to fly, Grynœus went to Baſil, where he was made profeſſor of philoſophy, and Vitus went to Wittemberg, where he was made profeſſor of the Greek language. Their places were ſupplied by other perſons ſent by Luther and Melanchon, and among them was John Honter, who was followed by Leonard Stokell, both of whom, however, went to Tranſilvania.

In the year following the archbiſhop of Buda, ſeconded by the clamours of the inferior clergy, endeavoured to perſuade the king to deſtroy Pefflinger, and all the other favourers of the doctrine of Luther; but he was prevented by a formidable invaſion of the Turks whom he marched to oppoſe. He however, wrote to this count, promiſing him his favour if from that time he would do his duty in exterminating the Lutherans. He, however, deferred doing any thing till after a journey which he undertook to meet the king. But they never did meet, the king being defeated and killed in the fatal battle of Mohacs.

Many of the biſhops who accompanied the king in this expedition having periſhed with him, their revenues were adminiſtered by laymen, who were the greateſt promoters of the reformation; and the return of count Pefflinger ſoon put an end to the proceedings of the monks in the execution of

the edicts. As they had proſcribed George of Sileſia, and his companions, the count took them to his own houſe, and encouraged them to preach in the moſt public manner; and from this time all the inhabitants of Hermanſtat, and by degrees thoſe of the neighbouring towns, embraced the reformation. Indeed, after the battle of Mohacs, moſt of the counts and barons of Hungary joined the reformers, and protected their preachers.

King John being defeated by Ferdinand, and flying to Poland, left the adminiſtration in the hands of Alexius Bethlen, a perſon of great moderation, who was urged in vain by the catholics to adopt violent meaſures; and in A. D. 1529, on a report that the forces of Ferdinand had been defeated, the magiſtrates of Hermanſtat publiſhed an edict, ordering the monks either to abjure popery, or leave the city on pain of death.

In A. D. 1530, five of the free cities of Upper Hungary ſent a confeſſion of their Proteſtant faith to Ferdinand, and many perſons of the higheſt rank and the greateſt power in Hungary, openly defended the reformation.

At the return of king John to Buda in A. D. 1533, the clergy left nothing unattempted to induce him to ſuppreſs the reformation by the moſt violent methods; and the archbiſhop ſent to priſon a prieſt who had preached againſt the faſts of

the church of Rome; and after having him ſcourged he expoſed him in the ſtreets, with hares, geeſe, and fowls faſtened to him, and then had him purſued by dogs; in conſequence of which he died; but within a few days after this, being ſtruck, it was ſuppoſed, with remorſe for what he had done, the biſhop became inſane, and died.

In A. D. 1535 Matthias Devai diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his zeal in promoting the reformation, that he was commonly called the Hungarian Luther; but he did not adopt the ſentiments of Luther on the ſubject of the euchariſt, but leaned to thoſe of Zuinglius; and their difference of opinion was the occaſion of a diviſion among the reformers in this part of the world, that was prejudicial to the common cauſe here, as it was in Germany and other places.

This Devai was not only the cauſe of the converſion of Gaſpar Draghius, a perſon of high rank, who became a patron of the reformers, but he brought over to his party the noble city of Veheli, and its neighbourhood. He alſo preached with much ſucceſs in Buda, the capital of the kingdom, and converted many in the court of king John, the rival of Ferdinand. Being, however, apprehended and impriſoned at Buda, he was examined by John Faber, the biſhop of Conſtance; and when he was going to priſon his conductor ſaying,

"If

"If you were a chriſtian, I would bleſs you;" he replied, "I do not want your benediction. It "is God that will bleſs me, and have mercy on "me." How he was delivered from his impriſonment does not appear. He was again apprehended at Vienna, but by ſome means or other he eſcaped a ſecond time. He had a public diſputation with Szegedinus a Franciſcan, the particulars of which he publiſhed.

The reformation in Hungary was alſo greatly promoted by John Honter abovementioned. He was a philoſopher and mathematician, and ſtudied firſt at Cracow, and then at Baſil, drawn by the great reputation of Reuchlin; and returning to his native country in A. D. 1533, he ſet up a printing office, and firſt publiſhed a work of Luther's on auricular confeſſion, and other works which had before been brought from Germany, and which ſold for great prices.

In A. D. 1542 the ſenate of Corona were induced by his zeal to appoint him their preacher, in order to eſtabliſh the reformation in that city; and he ſucceeded in bringing the whole province of Barcia into the reformation. So induſtrious was he and his coadjutors in this work, that before the end of the year A. D. 1545 it had taken place in all that province of Tranſilvania in which is the city of Media, called Media Saxonum, and there

there was publiſhed a confeſſion of the Proteſtant faith. The ſame was done at Erdod, when twenty three miniſters of the reformation drew up twelve articles of faith, and likewiſe profeſſed their aſſent to the articles of that confeſſion which had been preſented to the ſtates of the empire at Augſburgh.

This was a great mortification to the archbiſhop Martinucius; who had always been an advocate for violent meaſures, and who had ſome time before procured one of the Proteſtants to be burned alive. This perſon, however, had in ſome meaſure provoked his fate; having ſtruck a woman who was worſhipping before an image, when this prelate was attending the queen at her entrance into Waradin. In A. D. 1552 mention is made of another martyr to the Proteſtant cauſe in Baſilius Radon, but there is no account of the circumſtances of his martyrdom; and theſe are the only examples of Proteſtant martyrs, that I can find in this country.

The principal of the grandees who oppoſed the violent proceedings of this eccleſiaſtic, was Urban Batjani, whom he procured to be poiſoned in A. D. 1546; and even when he had been honourably buried, he had his body taken out of the grave, and expoſed on a dunghill.

Under

Under Ferdinand the Proteſtants had better treatment; for tho' he favoured the catholics, in ſome articles which were drawn up for compoſing the differences of religion, in A. D. 1548; yet by the oppoſition and influence of the grandees, eſpecially of Alexius Turzo, and his two ſons, equally zealous with himſelf in the cauſe of reformation, the preachers were protected.

In A. D. 1549 there was a numerous ſynod of the Proteſtants at Temeswar, when they made thirteen canons concerning the duty of paſtors. In the ſame year died John Honter, famous for his writings and other ſervices in the cauſe of the reformation, and of general literature. At this time, however, flouriſhed Stephen Szegedinus, who after Mr. Devai diſtinguiſhed himſelf the moſt in the ſame cauſe. He alſo followed Devai in adhering to the doctrine of Zuinglius on the ſubject of the euchariſt.

In A. D. 1554 the diſpute about the euchariſt occaſioned much diſturbance in the Proteſtant churches of theſe countries; and in the ſame year another difference aroſe among them occaſioned by the opinion of Francis Stancarus concerning the mediatorial office of Chriſt, which he ſaid depended upon his human nature only, and not at all on his divine nature; and for this opinion he ſuffered ſomething like a perſecution from the great majority

SECTION XVII.

A more particular Account of ſome of the Engliſh Martyrs.

THO' I have undertaken to write nothing more than a *general hiſtory* of the chriſtian church, I think it right to give occaſionally particular accounts of tranſactions, eſpecially when they ſeem to be neceſſary to give a juſt idea of the manners and ſpirit of the times to which they relate, which ſuccinct and general accounts can never do; and yet this is always conſidered as one principal object in writing hiſtory. Now nothing can contribute more to give a juſt idea of the ſpirit of the different parties, viz. the Catholics and Proteſtants, at the time of the reformation, than the hiſtory of the perſecution of the latter by the former, where we ſee the temper and behaviour of both.

I alſo chuſe to be more particular in this caſe, becauſe ſuch narratives tend in an eminent manner to inſpire the true ſpirit of chriſtianity, which is my principal object in writing this hiſtory; and in peaceable times this ſpirit is too apt to be

be loſt in that of the world, there being nothing in theſe circumſtances to draw our attention to it, and excite it. In ſuch times as theſe there are but few, I fear, who intereſt themſelves in books of *martyrology*, and therefore they muſt be ignorant of ſome of the moſt intereſting and inſtructive articles in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. For ſuch general hiſtories as that of Moſheim and others, tho' valuable on ſeveral accounts, contain nothing of this kind. If this ſubject be thought irkſome or diſguſting, tho' it ought not to be ſo to any chriſtian, the ſections relating to it will have their ſeparate titles, ſo that they may be paſſed over without any prejudice to the reſt of the work.

In peruſing theſe accounts readers of the preſent more civilized age will be ſhocked at the unneceſſary cruelties with which perſons, and perſons of the moſt reſpectable characters, were then treated. But it was the object of thoſe who were in power to bear down all that oppoſed them by any methods, however barbarous and illegal. For the ſake of the Engliſh reader I ſhall ſelect accounts of a few of the martyrs in the time of queen Mary, abridged from the much larger accounts in that moſt valuable, tho' now too much neglected, work of Mr. Fox, intitled *The Acts and Monuments of the Church*, but more commonly known by the title of *The Book of Martyrs*, beginning with John Rogers,

who was the firſt that was executed in this reign for his adherence to the principles of Proteſtaniſm.

Mr. Rogers was educated at Cambridge, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his application to literature, and his good conduct. After this he was choſen by the ſociety of Merchant Adventurers to be their chaplain at Antwerp in the reign of Henry VIII; and in this ſituation he gave great ſatisfaction to his employers. Here it was that he became acquainted with William Tindal and Miles Coverdale, who had left England on account of their religion, which by their means he was led to embrace, and he aſſiſted them in their tranſlation of the ſcriptures into Engliſh. Here he married; and going to Wittemberg he made farther progreſs in theology; and being a great proficient in the German language, the charge of a congregation was committed to him.

On the acceſſion of king Edward he left his eſtabliſhment at Wittemberg, and returned to his native country, without any other proſpect than that of promoting the reformation. But Ridley, then biſhop of London, knowing his worth, made him a prebendary of St. Paul's church, and the dean and chapter choſe him to be their reader of divinity; and this duty he diſcharged till the acceſſion of queen Mary.

When

When ſhe came to the tower, it being the duty of Mr. Rogers to preach at Paul's croſs, he ſo earneſtly exhorted the people againſt the doctrines of popery, that he was ſummoned before the council to give an account of his ſermon; and this he did with ſo much firmneſs, and yet with prudence, that at this time he was diſmiſſed. But after the proclamation concerning preaching he was called before the council a ſecond time; and tho' he clearly foreſaw his danger, and had a wife and ten children to provide for (which he could eaſily have done in Germany) he did not chuſe to flee, when it was in his power.

Not giving ſatisfaction to the council, he was at firſt made a priſoner in his own houſe, but after about half a year he was, at the procurement of biſhop Bonner, ſent to Newgate, and there confined with the worſt criminals; and all that is known of him, and his examinations, &c. from this time we learn from an account drawn up by himſelf, left in his cell after his death, and ſo concealed that his enemies had not found it. Otherwiſe it certainly would never have ſeen the light.

After having been kept a cloſe priſoner in theſe circumſtances till the 22d of January A. D. 1555, which was nearly a year and an half; he was brought before biſhop Gardiner the chancellor, and the reſt of the privy council; when being aſk-

ed if he would conform to the catholic church, as the nation in general had done, and receive a pardon, he anſwered in the negative with great firmneſs; and after a long altercation about the ſupreme head of the church, the ſervice in Latin, and the marriage of prieſts, to which his own marriage had given occaſion, he was remanded to priſon.

In the night between the 28th and 29th of the ſame month he was brought out again, when he remonſtrated with his judges on the ſubject of his impriſonment, which had been contrary to the law as it then ſtood, and the unreaſonableneſs of maintaining himſelf and his large family, when his ſalary, the means of his ſubſiſtence, had been taken from him. But not anſwering to ſatisfaction with reſpect to the doctrine of the euchariſt, he was informed that with the hope of his recanting, they would forbear to proceed any farther till the next day, when about nine o'clock he was brought up again; but beginning to charge his judges with temporizing, as they had done in the former reigns, he was not allowed to ſpeak any more, but was ſentenced to be degraded and ordered for execution, together with biſhop Hooper; and then the ſheriff conducted them both to Newgate.

The only requeſt that Mr. Rogers made, was that his wife might be permitted to have acceſs to him the ſhort time that he had to live, but this was denied

denied him, Gardiner ſaying that ſhe was not his wife. He replied that ſhe had been ſo eighteen years, and farther ſaid that, tho' they were offended with the marriage of prieſts, they made no objection to their open whoredom. For that in Wales every prieſt had his whore living without diſguiſe with him, and that the prieſts in France and Germany did the ſame. To this no reply was made.

On Monday the 4th of February, early in the morning, he was informed that he muſt prepare for execution that very day. He was, however, firſt carried before biſhop Bonner, who degraded him in due form, firſt dreſſing him like a prieſt, and then, with certain ceremonies, taking thoſe garments off. At this time he again requeſted that he might be permitted to ſpeak to his wife, who being a ſtranger in the country, and with a large family, might want ſome advice; but he was again peremptorily refuſed.

As he was on his way to Smithfield, the place deſtined for his execution, he was met in the crowd by his wife, who had the youngeſt child in her arms, and was accompanied by two others; but this affecting ſight did not move him from his purpoſe; and when he had an offer of a pardon at the ſtake, he would not accept of it on the condition of his recanting. Not being permitted to ad-

dreſs the people, who attended in great crouds, he only ſung as he went along the pſalm which begins with the word *miſerere*, and he ſuffered with the greateſt conſtancy. It is conjectured that he particularly wiſhed to ſpeak to his wife to inform her of the MS. which he had written in the priſon, and which was found by one of his ſons, when they went to the place, after it had, no doubt, been examined by the keeper.

With the ſame conſtancy died many others in theſe times, who, like Mr, Rogers, had themſelves been advocates for the doctrine of burning heretics. But this opinion, abhorrent as it is now acknowledged to be to reaſon and chriſtianity, was then nearly, if not wholly, univerſal; ſo that the holding of it argues no particular diſpoſition to cruelty. Proteſtants of all deſcriptions, when in power, as well as the catholics, acted upon it.

Biſhop Hooper, as I have obſerved, was confined in Newgate at the ſame time with Mr. Rogers, and his hiſtory and martyrdom is the next that I ſhall give an account of.

He was educated at Oxford, and there he was equally noted for his love of literature, and his zeal for religion; but the ſix articles of Henry VIII being then publiſhed, and he not approving of them, ſome divines of Oxford gave him ſo much trouble that he left the univerſity, and was receiv-

ed

ed in the capacity of ſteward by ſir Thomas Arundel, who, tho' a zealous catholic, was much pleaſed with his behaviour; and with the friendly view of reclaiming him, he ſent him on a meſſage to the biſhop of Wincheſter, with a letter informing him of his deſign. By the biſhop he was detained four or five days, in which his lordſhip endeavoured to convince him of his errors; but not ſucceeding he ſent him back with much commendation of his ability and learning; but from this time he conceived a rooted averſion to him on account of his opinions, and, as he would naturally think, his obſtinacy.

Being warned by a friend of his danger in continuing in the family of Mr. Arundel, he fled to France, but ſoon returned, and was received by a Mr. Sentlow till, a ſnare being laid for him, he went to Germany, where he formed a connection with ſeveral learned Proteſtants, and eſpecially at Baſil and Zurich, where he formed a ſtrict friendſhip with Mr. Bullenger. There he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Hebrew, and alſo married.

On the acceſſion of king Edward he took an affectionate leave of Mr. Bullenger and his other friends at Zurich, and returned to England; and arriving in London he never failed to preach once, and often twice, every day; and being very eloquent, he always had crowded audiences. Being

called to preach before the king, he was ſoon advanced to the biſhoprick of Glouceſter, and after two years that of Worceſter was added to it. The duties of this high office he diſcharged with ſingular aſſiduity and ſucceſs. As he had always objected to the popiſh veſtments, he was by the king's authority excuſed from uſing them at his inſtallation, which gave much offence to the other biſhops. To comply therefore with his brethren as far as he could, he conſented to be habited as they were when he preached before the king.

On the acceſſion of queen Mary this excellent biſhop was one of the firſt that was ſent for to appear before Gardiner and the reſt of the privy council in London; and tho' he was fully apprized of his danger, he refuſed to leave the kingdom any more; ſaying that, tho' he had fled before, he was now determined to live or die with his flock.

His appearance before the council was on the firſt of September A. D. 1553, when, after being inſulted by Gardiner, he was ſent to the Fleet priſon, where he was ſubjected to the harſheſt treatment, not being allowed to leave his room except juſt to take his meals, and for this he paid an unreaſonable ſum. The keeper being a creature of Gardiner's, he was by his means more ſtrictly confined, and put into a place where nothing was given him but a bed of ſtraw with a rotten coverlet, a tick,

tick, and a few feathers; but afterwards ſome charitable perſon ſent him a bed. One ſide of this place was the ſink and filth of the houſe, and on the other ſide the town ditch, ſo that with the ſtench of the place he contracted ſeveral diſeaſes. When in this ſituation he was ſometimes near dying, and called for help, the warden, who heard him, ordered the door to be kept cloſed, and ſuffered no ſervant to go near him; ſaying that if he died there would be a good riddance of him, ſo that he expected to die before he ſhould be brought to his trial.

The year following, on the 19th of March, he was again brought before his judges, and without being allowed to ſpeak for himſelf he was ſentenced, on account of his marriage, to be deprived of his preferment. Being alſo queſtioned on the ſubject of the euchariſt, and not giving ſatisfaction, he was by the biſhop of Chicheſter called a hypocrite, and by Tonſtal and others, a beaſt.

On the 22nd of January A. D. 1555 he was brought before the commiſſioners at the houſe of biſhop Gardener, but giving them no more ſatisfaction than he had done before, he was remanded to priſon. On the 28th of the ſame month he was brought before them again, when both he and Mr. Rogers were informed that they would be heard again the next day; and then, as they could

not be perſuaded to recant, they were ſentenced to be degraded and delivered to the ſecular power to be executed, after which they were conducted to Newgate. On their way thither great crowds preſſed to ſee them, praiſing God for their conſtancy in the doctrine which they had preached.

In Newgate they were kept ſix days without any perſon being permitted to ſee or converſe with them. Bonner, however, and other catholics viſited them in order to induce them, if poſſible, to recant, but this was without any effect. There was, however, a report circulated that the biſhop had recanted, and it gave him ſome diſturbance. But this did not continue long. For on Monday, the 2d of February, the biſhop of London came and performed the ceremony of their degredation; and the ſame night the biſhop was informed that he was to be carried to Glouceſter, and ſuffer there; at which he was much rejoiced, ſince he ſhould then die in the midſt of his flock.

When they were on their journey his conductors always took care to avoid the inns that he had been uſed to frequent, and at Cirenceſter they took him to the houſe of a woman who had been uſed to revile him; but, contrary to their expectation, ſhe ſhewed him every mark of kindneſs, lamenting his caſe with tears. When they came near to Glouceſter, they were met by ſo great a crowd

crowd of his friends, that the aid of the mayor and his officers was thought neceſſary for his guard. He was, however, perfectly compoſed, ate a hearty ſupper, and ſlept ſoundly as uſual; but the remainder of the night, and all the next day, he paſſed in acts of devotion.

When the ſheriff, who was to ſee him executed, waited upon him the next morning, he ſaid he had only one requeſt to make, which was that they would make a quick fire, and diſpatch him as ſoon as poſſible. At five o'clock that night he went to bed, and ſlept ſoundly as before, but employed the remainder of the night, as he had done the precediug day, and at nine he was conducted to the place of his execution, attended by a prodigious crowd, but he was not permitted to make any addreſs to them. After a ſolemn prayer he undreſſed himſelf, and was bound with an iron hoop to the ſtake, tho' he aſſured them that it was not neceſſary, for that he ſhould be quiet, and give them no trouble. They allowed him to put a bag of gunpowder between his legs, and with great calmneſs he ſhewed them how to place the faggots. Bundles of reeds being given him, he kiſſed them, and placed one under each arm.

When the fire was lighted, the faggots were found to be ſo green, that the heat only ſcorched him, and after ſome time drier faggots were brought, but

but ſtill the wind blew the flame in ſuch a manner that his lower parts only were affected. In this ſtate of extreme torture he was heard to pray, ſaying, "Jeſus, thou ſon of David, have "mercy on me, and receive my ſoul." Then, wiping his eyes, he called for more fire. With the third fire the gunpowder exploded, but ſo as to be of little ſervice to him. He kept praying as long as he was able to ſpeak, ſtriking on his breaſt with one of his hands till it fell off, and then with the other, till, on its touching the hot iron hoop, it ſtuck faſt to it, and preſently after this falling forwards, he expired. Tho' owing to the unfavourable circumſtances above mentioned, he was for three quarters of an hour in extreme torture, he continued, the hiſtorian ſays, quiet as a lamb, never moving his body, tho' his lower parts were ſo burned, that before he died his bowels fell out.

Willing to complete this ſection by a third example of thoſe noble martys, I was a long time undetermined which to ſelect, from ſo great a number that preſented themſelves in Mr. Fox's book; all the caſes having in them ſomething particularly deſerving notice. Having given the preceding account of biſhop Hooper, I paſs over the caſes of the biſhops Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, eſpecially as the lives of two of them have been excellently written, and in a popular manner,

ner, by Mr. Gilpin, and on the whole I have thought it moſt eligible to take that of *Mr. Bradford*, tho' for a long time I heſitated between his caſe and that of Mr. Taylor of Hadley in Suffolk; eſpecially as I had been upon the ſpot where he ſuffered, and witneſſed the veneration with which his memory is ſtill cheriſhed in that town, ſo that tho' he has been ſo long *dead he yet ſpeaketh.*

Mr John Bradford was born at Mancheſter in Lancaſhire, and was not originally deſigned for any of the learned profeſſions, but entered into the ſervice of Sir John Harrington, who had great employments under Henry VIII and Edward VI; and by his ſkill in writing and accompts, as well as by his general behaviour, he gained his entire confidence. Tho' it was probable that in this ſituation he might have acquired a decent fortune, he quitted this employment, and appears for ſome time to have applied to the ſtudy of the law in the Temple; but afterwards he went to the univerſity of Cambridge, with a view to qualify himſelf for the chriſtian miniſtry, and there he gained ſo much favour by his diligence and proficiency in his ſtudies, that after one year he was admitted to the degree of maſter of arts, and ſoon after was choſen fellow of Pembroke college. Here he particularly recommended himſelf to Martin Bucer, one of the moſt eminent of the reformers, who greatly encouraged

couraged him to undertake the office of preacher. In conſequence of this he was ordained by Ridley the biſhop of London, and was made a prebendary of St. Paul's Church.

In the faithful and laborious diſcharge of his duty in this ſituation he continued three years; but on the acceſſion of queen Mary he was apprehended, and ſent to the Tower on a charge of ſedition, tho' his behaviour entitled him to the thanks of the clergy and the court. For when the biſhop of Bath preached at St Paul's croſs, with a view to reconcile the people to the change of meaſures that was to take place, and was ſo much inſulted by the people, that he was in danger of his life, Mr. Bradford, who was a great favourite with them, protected him; and preaching at Bow church the Sunday following he ſharply reproved the people for their diſorderly behaviour, at the ſame time that he exhorted them to adhere to their principles of proteſtantiſm.

From the Tower he was removed to the king's bench priſon, and there the keeper had ſo much confidence in him, that he permitted him to go out whenever he pleaſed, and he always returned at the time that he promiſed, tho' he might have made his eſcape.

On the 22d, and again on the 29th of January, 1555, he was brought before the council, and after

ter ſuch an examination, and ſuch inſults, as Mr. Rogers and biſhop Hooper had experienced before him, he was ſentenced as they were, to be degraded and burned, and then was ſent to the Counter priſon in the Poultry. This was after he had been a year and a half in the king's bench; and wherever he was confined he exerted himſelf ſo much in exhorting his fellow priſoners, and preaching to them, and to others who came to the priſon to hear him, that he was of eminent uſe, and he was held in the higheſt eſteem on that account.

When he was in the Counter he had notice given him that he was to be removed to Newgate, and executed the day following; and on hearing this he took off his cap, and ſaid, "I thank God "for it. The Lord make me worthy of it." The prayer which he made on that occaſion was highly edifying to many who were preſent; and when he left the place all the priſoners, as well as the jailer's family, bid him farewell with many tears.

His removal to Newgate had been in the night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, it being thought that at that time nobody would be in the ſtreets; but they were crowded with people, who were loud in their expreſſions of eſteem, and exhortations to conſtancy. On the day of his remo-

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val from Newgate all Smithfield was crowded by four o'clock in the morning, becauſe it was ſuppoſed that, in order to avoid a crowd, his execution would be at that early hour, but it was nine before he was actually brought.

As he went along a brother in law taking him affectionately by the hand, one of the ſheriff's officers broke his head with his ſtaff. Being come to the place of execution, he firſt proſtrated himſelf on the ground in ſilent prayer; and then, having ſtripped himſelf to his ſhirt, he calmly went to the ſtake, and ſuffered without any other indication than that of joy, together with a young man, an apprentice, of the name of John Leaf. At this time many perſons in the ordinary ranks of life profeſſed the principles of the reformation, and ſuffered for them, with as much firmneſs as thoſe who had had a liberal education; and women ſhewed as much fortitude as men.

Harſh as the treatment of theſe excellent perſons will appear to be in theſe days of greater humanity and juſtice, it will be ſeen to have been mild when compared with that of the French Proteſtants in the next period, ſome examples of which I ſhall there exhibit, with the ſame view with which I have produced theſe. I wiſh the reading of ſuch accounts was ſo general, as to make theſe ſections in my work unneceſſary.

There

There is a circumſtance deſerving of particular notice in the hiſtory of martyrdoms, which is that ſtrong mental feelings overpower, and in ſome meaſure counteract, thoſe of the bodily ſenſes; ſo that the pain of torture is leſs ſenſibly felt.

This was exemplified in the caſe of Thomas Tomkins. The cruel Bonner, thinking to overcome his conſtancy by the ſenſe of pain, had a lighted candle held under his hand in his own preſence till, as the hiſtorian ſays, "the ſinews ſhrunk, "and the veins burſt;" and yet he afterwards told a friend of his, that "his ſpirit was ſo wrapt that "he felt no pain." Soon after this he was burned at Smithfield, but nothing farther is ſaid of him: *Fox*, p. 154.

I ſhall recite another inſtance of a ſimilar nature. Thomas Hawkes being ſentenced to be burned alive, ſome of his friends, who expected the ſame fate, deſired him to give them a token when he was in the fire, whether the pain was ſuch as to be in any degree tolerable; ſo that, as they ſaid, "a man might keep his mind quiet and patient." If it was ſo tolerable, they deſired him to ſhew it by lifting up his hands. Accordingly when, as the hiſtorian ſays, "he had continued long in the "fire, ſo that his ſpeech was taken away by the vi-"olence of the flame, his ſkin almoſt drawn toge-"ther, and his fingers conſumed in the fire; ſo

"that now all men thought certainly he had been "gone, he reached his hands over his head, and "with marks of joy clapped them three times." At this there was great joy expreſſed by the ſpectators, but eſpecially by thoſe who knew the meaning of it. After this he ſoon ſunk down into the fire and died. Ib. p. 220.

I hardly need to obſerve that, on theſe trying occaſions, women have ſhewn as much firmneſs in bearing torture and death as men. Thus, in the account of the martyrdom of Mrs. Joice Lewes, p. 704, it is ſaid that when ſhe was faſtened to the ſtake with a chain, ſhe ſhewed ſo much cheerfulneſs, that "it paſſed man's reaſon, being ſo patient;" which greatly affected all who were preſent. And when the fire was lighted, "ſhe neither ſtruggled "nor ſtirred," but only lifted up one of her hands to heaven.

Cicely Ormes, who was burned at Norwich, had at firſt recanted; but repenting of it ſhe was brought to the ſtake; when ſhe kiſſed it, ſaying, "Welcome the croſs of Chriſt." When the fire was kindled, ſhe ſaid, "My ſoul doth magnify the "Lord, and my ſpirit rejoices in God my Savi-"our." Then looking upwards, ſhe raiſed her arms, and held them in that poſture "till the fi-

"news

"news broke alunder, and ſhe died as quietly as "if ſhe had felt no pain. p. 717.

It is by no means my object to recite all the affecting circumſtances that occur in the narrative of theſe murders. For, conſidering the ſpirit with which they were conducted, they deſerve no other name; but I ſhall juſt mention the caſe of a blind man, and another that was lame, who were burned at the ſame ſtake, p. 587; of a blind boy, p. 589, and of a woman who was delivered of a child when ſhe was in the fire, and which the inhuman ſheriff threw back into the fire, to be burned along with her, p. 627. Surely there will be a time of recompence for theſe things.

SECTION XVIII.

Of the Unitarians in this Period.

WHEN the amazingly complex ſyſtem of errors and abuſes which had been introduced into the catholic church began to be examined, it could not be expected that all the reformers ſhould agree in the ſame principles, but that ſome would go farther than others, and of courſe give offence to the reſt, who would wiſh to preſerve ſome character for orthodoxy with thoſe from whom they had ſeparated. And as no queſtion in the whole compaſs of theology had undergone ſo much diſcuſſion as that concerning the perſon of Chriſt, and the prevailing opinion had been eſtabliſhed by power and not by argument, we cannot be ſurprized that many perſons ſhould entertain doubts concerning the doctrine of the perfect equality of the Son to the Father, or of his divinity in any proper ſenſe of the word. Indeed, we find traces of ſuch perſons in every period, and eſpecially among

mong the Albigenſes. It was, therefore, natural to expect that when the minds of men were more than ever awakened to every thing that could be ſuſpected to be an abuſe in this period, ſome ſhould revive the opinion of the antient Unitarians, and other modifications of antitrinitarian ſentiments.

Accordingly it appears, ſays Moſheim, that ſo early as the year A. D. 1524, Lewis Hetzer, an Anabaptiſt, openly denied the divinity of Chriſt; and about three years afterwards he was put to death at Conſtance. He was a man of conſiderable learning. He wrote againſt the uſe of images in churches, and tranſlated the prophets of the Old Teſtament into German. *Robinson*, p. 519. His treatiſe againſt the trinity was ſuppreſſed by Zuinglius. *Beausobre*, Vol. 4, p, 145.

John Campanus, a native of Juliers, taught at Wittemberg and other places, that the Son was inferior to the Father, and one Claudius propagated an opinion of a ſimilar nature in A. D. 1530 in Switzerland, and excited no ſmall commotion by this means, tho' no regular ſect was formed by any of theſe perſons. Pope Clement in his ſpeech to Charles V ſaid, there were ſome who had lately revived the error of Paul of Samoſata, which makes chriſtianity a pure Mahometaniſm. *Ib.* Vol. 4, p. 242.

The perſon who in this period diſtinguiſhed himſelf the moſt by tenets which in the opinion of the majority tended to degrade the perſon of Chriſt, was Michael Servetus, who was born in A. D. 1509 at Villa Nova in Arragon, and ſtudied the civil law at Thouloufe. The reformation making much noiſe at this time, he there applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures; and conceiving that the doctrine of the trinity was one of the articles that required to be reformed, he wrote a treatiſe on the ſubject, intitled *De trinitatis erroribus*, which he publiſhed at Straſburgh and Frankfort in A. D. 1531, when he was not more than twenty one years of age.

This book gave great offence to the principal reformers. Œcolampadius at Baſil was required by the magiſtrates to examine the book, and finding in it, as he thought, erroneous and blaſphemous propoſitions, he publiſhed them, and had a conference with the author on the ſubject. On this occaſion Servetus complained that his antagoniſt, who was in general of a mild diſpoſition, was very rough with him; ſaying, "I will be mild in "other things, but not when I hear Jeſus Chriſt "blaſphemed." *Ruchat*, Vol. 3, p. 108. Œcolampadius writing to Bucer, on the ſubject of Servetus's book, ſays, "Our churches will be very "ill ſpoken of unleſs our divines make it their bu"neſs to cry it down. I beſeech you in particular

"to

"to keep a watchful eye upon it, and to make "an apology to our churches, at leaſt in your "confutation inſcribed to the emperor. We know "not how this beaſt came to creep in among us. "He wreſts all the paſſages of ſcripture to prove "that the Son is not coeternal and conſubſtantial "with the Father, and that the man Chriſt is the "ſon of God." This clearly ſhews how deſirous theſe reformers were to keep ſome meaſures with the church of Rome, and to avoid the charge of hereſy. *Impartial Hiſtory of M. Servetus*, p. 35.

The year following, A. D. 1532, Servetus publiſhed another treatiſe on the ſame ſubject. This, no doubt, added to the alarm of theſe reformers. Melancthon, writing to Joachim Camerarius, ſays, "You know that I was always afraid that theſe "diſputes about the trinity would break out ſome "time or other. Good God, what tragedies will "this queſtion excite among our poſterity, whether "the logos be a ſubſiſtence or a perſon, and whe-"ther the Holy Spirit be a ſubſiſtence or a perſon. "I have recourſe to thoſe words of ſcripture "which command me to worſhip Chriſt, that is, to "aſcribe to him the honours of divinity, which is "full of conſolation; but it is by no means expe-"dient to examine accurately into the ideas of "*ſubſiſtence* or *perſon*." Thus were theſe reformers afraid of free inquiry, when they apprehended

that it might lead men farther than they had gone themſelves.

After this Servetus paſſed two or three years at Lyons, and then went to Paris to ſtudy medicine, which he afterwards practiſed; and he publiſhed ſome treatiſes on medical ſubjects. It was at Paris that Calvin became acquainted with him. From Paris Servetus retired to Vienne in Duphiné, where he practiſed phyſic ten or twelve years. In this time his books were much read, eſpecially in Italy; and it is thought that Lœlius Socinus and others were led by them to reject the doctrine of the trinity. In all this time he correſponded with Calvin, who ſays that for the ſpace of ſixteen years he endeavoured to reclaim him from his errors. It appears that in the courſe of this correſpondence they were both much irritated. Calvin in his Commentaries calls Servetus "a profligate fellow, "a man full of pride, the proudeſt of the Spaniſh "nation, a dog, and an obſcene dog." However, during this correſpondence, he ſent Calvin a manuſcript which, tho' it never was printed, he ungeneroufly produced againſt him at his trial.

Servetus not convinced of any error, and continuing to think the opinion he had advanced of much importance, publiſhed in A. D. 1533 another book, but without his name, againſt the trinity, and ſome other doctrines. This was intitled

tled *Chriſtianismi Reſtitutio*, and it was in this treatiſe that he introduced his opinion of the circulation of the blood. It was for writing this book that Calvin, by his letters, procured Servetus to be apprehended, and tho' he eſcaped out of priſon, he was ſentenced, if he could be caught, to be burned alive with a ſlow fire. His books and his effigy were burned. In order to procure his condemnation Calvin ſent to Vienne above twenty letters which he had received from him.

Flying from France, it was the intention of Servetus to go to Naples, and practice phyſic there; but going thro' Geneva, Calvin, on being informed that he was in the town, had him apprehended, and procured thirty eight articles of accuſation to be exhibited againſt him. After this he was detained in priſon about five months, and his trial commenced Auguſt 14. The principal accuſations againſt him related to the doctrine of the trinity. Tho' he was a foreigner, he was not allowed an advocate to plead for him; and tho' he ſuffered exceedingly from cold and vermin, he was unable to obtain any relief. He alſo pleaded in vain the rights of conſcience, and the innocence of free inquiry, not attended with any breach of the peace.

Calvin writing at this time to Farel, ſays, "I "hope Servetus will be condemned to death, but

"I wiſh the ſeverity of his puniſhment may be "ſoftened;" the very language always uſed by the popiſh inquiſitors on ſimilar occaſions. Farel, who had himſelf ſuffered perſecution, replied that Servetus deſerved to die a thouſand deaths, and intimated that the judges would be very cruel, and enemies to Chriſt and his church, if they did not proceed and make an example of him. Bucer ſaid he deſerved to have his entrails plucked out, and to be torn in pieces. Bullenger ſaid the magiſtrates acted nobly, and that puniſhing ſuch obſtinate heretics was for the glory of God. How does this juſtify the proceedings of the catholics againſt themſelves.

On the 26th of October Servetus was ſentenced to be burned alive the day following, together with all his books, printed and manuſcript, and Beza ſays, it was according to the opinion of all the Helvetian churches. Servetus would have appealed to the council of two hundred, who it was thought, would have acquitted him, but Calvin prevented it. Before his execution he deſired to ſee Calvin, and when they met, he begged his pardon for the harſh language he had ſometimes uſed towards him; but Calvin, who had offended at leaſt as much in the ſame way, did not aſk his. He only exhorted him to repent of his hereſy. But Servetus continued ſteady, and died calling upon God.

In

In this period we find Valentine Gentilis, a Neapolitan, who ſuffered at Bern in A. D. 1566. He adopted the Arian hypotheſis. He left the place of his nativity, which was Coſenza, on account of religion, and retired to Geneva, where ſeveral Italian families had already formed a church, and one of the principal of them was George Blandrata, a phyſician, who afterwards went to Poland. Gentilis having given great offence by his writings, and eſpecially to Calvin, fled from Geneva, and after various adventures was apprehended at Bern the 11th of June A. D. 1566. He was ſentenced to be beheaded, and at the place of execution ſaid, "Many had ſuffered for the glory of the Son," meaning probably for their chriſtian faith, "but "none that he knew of before himſelf had died for "the glory and ſuperiority of the Father." *Bayle.* Servetus, however, had ſuffered before him.

Calvin, and other foreign divines, had many friends in Poland; and by their means ſent letters and tracts into that country, juſtifying the murder of Servetus and Gentilis, and aſſerting the neceſſity of employing ſecular power to rid the world of ſuch monſters as denied the trinity and infant baptiſm. *Robinſon*, p. 584.

Andrew Dudith, a moſt accompliſhed perſon, who was ſent to the council of Trent, and had great preferment in the church of Rome, joined the

the reformers, and ſettled at Cracow. Writing on this ſubject to Wolf, a divine at Zurich, he ſays, "Tell them, my learned friend, now that the Cal-"viniſts have burned Servetus, beheaded Gentilis, "and murdered many others; now that they have "baniſhed Bernard Ochin with his wife and chil-"dren from your city in the depth of winter. "Now that the Lutherans have expelled Laſco, "with a congregation of foreigners that came out "of England with him, in an extremely rigorous "ſeaſon of the year, and have done many o-"ther ſuch exploits contrary to the genius of chriſ-"tianity, how ſhall we meet the Papiſts? With "what face can we tax them with cruelty? How "dare we ſay, "*Our weapons are not carnal*"? "How can we any longer urge, "*Let both grow* "*together till the harveſt*"? Let us ceaſe to boaſt "that "*faith cannot be compelled*, and that conſci-"ence ought to be free. *Robinson*, p. 592.

Other perſons are alſo mentioned who held ſimilar opinions, tho' with many variations. But the proper origin of the *Unitarians*, as a ſeparate body of chriſtians, is with ſome degree of probability aſcribed to ſome private aſſemblies of Italians, eſpecially in A. D. 1546, at Vicenza, in the territory of Venice. They met for the diſcuſſion of religious ſubjects, and among them it is ſaid, but not with certainty, was Lœlius Socinus, born in

in A. D. 1524 at Sienna, deſigned for the profeſſion of the law, and greatly diſtinguiſhed for his learning and piety. He certainly travelled much in ſearch of truth. He was, however, of a timid diſpoſition; for tho' it is evident that he was no trinitarian, he lived and died a member of the Helvetic church of Zurich in A. D. 1562.

It was his nephew Fauſtus Socinus, a man of perhaps leſs learning, but of greater ability, and more zeal, who gave celebrity to the ſect, and from him the Unitarians were long called *Socinians*; but his hiſtory falls within the next period. About this time, however, many perſons who entertained theſe ſentiments, as well as thoſe of the Anabaptiſts, being perſecuted by all the other denominations of chriſtians, took refuge in Poland, where, behaving with much moderation, they were at firſt received into the churches of the reformed, and did not ſeparate from them till the year A. D. 1565.

Lœlius Socinus, it is ſaid, inſtilled ſentiments contrary to the prevailing ones, into the mind of Francis Liſmaninus, who was preacher and confeſſor to Bona Sforția the wife of Sigiſmond king of Poland. This Liſmaninus publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes to prove the ſupremacy of the Father, as the origin and fountain of divinity to the Son; and this encouraged Gregory Paul, a miniſter of the Proteſtant church at Cracow, openly to aſſert the ſame opinions.

About

About this time alſo a perſon from the Low Countries, whoſe name was Spiritus, arrived i Poland; who having propoſed the queſtion, whether there were three Gods, doubts on the ſubject of the trinity aroſe in the mind of Andreas Fricius Modrevius, ſecretary to the king; and at the deſire of this prince, who was of an inquiſitive diſpoſition, he ſtudied queſtions of this kind, and wrote ſome treatiſes in favour of the Unitarian doctrine, which he entitled *Silvæ*.

In A. D. 1556, Peter Goneſius, a Pole, after his return from his travels, avowed his rejection of the Nicene and Athanaſian creeds, and in A. D. 1558, there came to Pinczow George Blandrata, a phyſician of conſiderable eminence, whom, Sigiſmond invited to his court, and who brought with him Francis David an Unitarian miniſter; and then it is ſaid, Blandrata embraced the doctrine of the ſupremacy of the Father. He here met with Goneſius and Stancarus, an Italian, who held the ſame opinion. Theſe perſons entering into a diſpute on the ſubject, a ſynod was called for the purpoſe of compoſing the controverſy, at which were preſent many miniſters, and alſo nobles; and tho' nothing was agreed on, it contributed much to the overthrow of the doctrine of the trinity. The ſame controverſy was carried into other ſynods, all of which terminated in the increaſe of Unitarians.

unitarians. In other ſynods, however, their doctrine was oppoſed; and at one held at Cracow, in A. D. 1561, letters were produced from Calvin, exhorting them to be on their guard againſt Blandrata. *Toulmin's Life of Socinus*, p. 2, &c.

However, by the endeavours of Blandrata and Francis David the king and a great part of the nobility were induced to favour the Unitarians, ſo that they had liberty to profeſs their opinions in the moſt public manner. This gave them ſo firm a footing in Tranſilvania, that tho' Bathori, who afterwards ſucceeded to the kingdom, wiſhed to ſuppreſs the new ſect, he found it prudent not to make the attempt; and in this country they have ever ſince remained unmoleſted, having ſeminaries of learning, and holding their religious aſſemblies, tho' expoſed to much danger from their many enemies. *Moſheim*, Vol. 4, p. 190.

In this period the Unitarians endeavoured, but without ſucceſs, to eſtabliſh themſelves in Hungary and Auſtria, being effectually oppoſed both by the catholics and Proteſtants.

SECTION

SECTION XIX.

Of the Jeſuits.

IT was peculiarly fortunate for the catholic cauſe, that when the biſhops became diſcredited, by their neglect of learning, and adopting the free manners of the nobility, the *monks* aroſe for the ſupport of it; and that when they fell into diſcredit the *mendicants* took their place. In this period, when the mendicant orders were in no higher credit than the monks, another order of learned men made their appearance, and by their ability and zeal were of more ſervice to the ſame cauſe than the monks or the mendicants had ever been. Theſe were the *Jeſuits*, a ſociety founded by Ignatius Loyola, a gentleman of Navarre in Spain, himſelf a man of no learning, and a wild enthuſiaſt.

He was born in A. D. 1491. At firſt he was a page to king Ferdinand, and then ſerved in the army, but was a man of pleaſure to the age of twenty nine; when being dangerouſly wounded at the ſiege of Pampeluna, he read for his amuſement

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the lives of the ſaints; and by their example he was ſo fired, that from that time he gave himſelf wholly to ſuch a life as he found moſt recommended there.

His firſt reſolution was to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, going barefooted, and clothed in ſackloth; but being prevented in this, he went to Notredame de Montſerrat, near Barcelona; and there, watching in the church all night, he ſolemnly hung up his arms, by way of renouncing the profeſſion of a ſoldier, and devoted himſelf to the ſervice of the Virgin Mary. Thence he went to the hoſpital at Manreſe, where he lived on bread and water, except on Sundays, when he ate ſome boiled vegetables. At the ſame time he wore an iron chain on his loins, and a rough hair cloth under his other clothes. He alſo whipped himſelf three times a day, lay on the bare ground, begged his bread from door to door, and made ſo dirty and hideous an appearance, that the boys hooted at and pelted him as he went along; and thence he retired to a cavern in the neighbourhood, where he was found almoſt dead with his exceſſive mortifications, and carried back to the hoſpital.

Being much perplexed with doubts about his ſalvation, in conſequence of the free life he had formerly led, he went to the Dominicans at Manreſe, where he faſted ſeven whole days, without

eating or drinking, or relaxing of his other auſteri-ties in any reſpect. He went thence to Rome, where he arrived in the time of pope Adrian, and after this he performed his pilgrimage to Jeruſa-lem, whence he returned to Barcelona in A. D. 1524; and finding the want of learning which was neceſſary for his undertaking, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Grammar, but made little progreſs. After this he went to ſtudy philoſophy and theo-logy at Alcala, and there he got four diſciples. But finding much confuſion in his ideas on the ſubjects of his ſtudies, he and his diſciples applied themſelves to the converſion of ſinners.

From Alcala Ignatius went to Salamanca, but there he and his four diſciples were impriſon-ed, and ſhut up in a dungeon, for teaching with-out proper qualifications. Being releaſed on his examination, he went to France, without his com-panions, to ſtudy in the univerſity at Paris, and there he formed a deſign of eſtabliſhing a new ſo-ciety for the converſion of infidels, and propoſed to take the members of it out of that univerſity. Among the firſt who engaged with him was Fran-cis Xavier, who then taught philoſophy in the college of Beauvois, and who afterwards diſtin-guiſhed himſelf by his miſſion to the Indies. An-other was James Lainez, both Spaniards. Theſe and five others he took to the church of Montmar-

tre near Paris in A. D. 1534, and after a ſolemn communion they took a vow, that, abandoning every thing in the world, they would go to Jeruſalem for the converſion of the infidels; and if that ſhould be impracticable, that they would throw themſelves at the feet of the pope, and devote themſelves to his ſervice, without requiring any thing for their labours. In the mean time he preſcribed to them certain religious exerciſes, having compoſed a treatiſe on that ſubject ſome time before. Being then adviſed to return to Spain for the recovery of his health, which was much injured by his exerciſes, he engaged his diſciples to meet him at Venice in A. D. 1537.

When Ignatius was there he became acquainted with J. P. Caraffa, who was afterwards Paul IV, and who endeavoured in vain to perſuade him to join the order of Theatins, which he had inſtituted. Finding the times unfavourable to their intended voyage to Paleſtine, Ignatius, Le Fevre, and Laynez, went to Rome to offer their ſervices to the pope, while the reſt diſperſed themſelves in the univerſities of Italy, in order to gain proſelytes. But before this they agreed upon the following rules, "to lodge in hoſpitals, to beg their bread, "that when any number of them were together, "they ſhould be ſtationary in their turn, that they "ſhould preach in the ſtreets, and whenever they

"could, that they ſhould catechize the children, "and take no money for their ſervices." *Hiſtoire de la compagnie de Jeſus*, Vol. 1, p. 36.

When Ignatius and the two others came to Rome, which was in A. D. 1538, Paul IV, at the ſolicitation of a Spaniſh doctor Peter Ortiz, who knew Ignatius at Paris, accepted the offer of their ſervice, and there Lainez became profeſſor of ſcholaſtic theology. On this all the diſciples, ſome of whom had been preaching with much ſucceſs, aſſembled at Rome; and then Ignatius laid before them his great ſcheme of forming a fixed ſociety, who to the vows of poverty and chaſtity, which they had taken before, ſhould add one of perpetual and abſolute obedience to the chief whom they ſhould chuſe, and another of obedience to the pope, to go wherever he ſhould ſend them, without any allowance for their expences. At the ſame time it was agreed that the *profeſſed* Jeſuits (for they called themſelves *the company of Jeſus*) ſhould have no property either in private or in common, but that they might have colleges, with revenues for the maintenance of ſtudents.

After ſome difficulty the pope gave his ſanction to this new order September the 27th, A. D. 1540; but he fixed the number of profeſſed Jeſuits to ſixty. At this time Ignatius had no more than ten diſciples, and they choſe himſelf for their ſuperior

rior or General. The year following Ignatius ſettled the particular conſtitutions of his order, by which it appears that his deſign was that his diſciples ſhould divide their time between a contemplative and an active life. He appointed no habit but that of the common clergy of the times, and he excluded particular mortifications, and alſo long prayers and meditations. They were not even to perform divine ſervice, but rather apply themſelves to ſtudy. *Hiſtoire*, Vol 1, p. 59.

By this conſtitution the General was to reſide at Rome, and have four aſſiſtants, one in Italy, another in Spain, a third in France, and a fourth in Germany, to be appointed at the general aſſembly. Beſides theſe, there were to be *Provincials* appointed by the General, as alſo ſuperiors of particular houſes, and of the probationers, called *Noviciates*, and rectors of colleges. That the General might have a more perfect knowledge of the perſons he employed, the Provincials in all parts of Europe were obliged to write to him once a month, and thoſe in the Indies every opportunity. Beſides this, every three years there was to be ſent to him an account of every perſon in the ſociety, in which their ages and their qualifications in all reſpects, were noted, and every thing elſe relating to the ſociety.

Ignatius alſo divided his ſubjects into four claſſes, the *profeſſed*, the *coadjutors*, the *ſcholars*, and the *novices*, who were to remain in that ſtate two years. The profeſſed were of two kinds, ſome of all the four vows, and others of three only, the fourth vow being that of obedience to the pope, over whom the General had no power. The *coadjutors* were either ſpiritual or temporal, the former of whom did not take the fourth vow.

There being very ſoon a great demand for Jeſuits, eſpecially for the education of youth, Ignatius obtained leave of the pope to make as many of the order of *profeſſed* as he pleaſed, and in a ſhort ſpace of time there were foundations of Jeſuits in all parts of Europe, and in all the European colonies in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. Ignatius alſo procured two of his diſciples, Lainez and Salmeron, to be ſent as the pope's theologians to the council of Trent. There they found another member of their ſociety, Le Jay, who was theologian to the cardinal of Augſburg, and by their ingenuity, humility, and charity, they gained univerſal eſteem.

The firſt perſon who founded a college for the uſe of the Jeſuits was Francis de Borgia, duke of Candia, where they taught philoſophy, theology, and polite literature; and in this line they ſo much diſtinguiſhed themſelves, that in a ſhort ſpace of time

time their colleges were numerous in all parts of Europe, and the education of the opulent youths was almoſt wholly in their hands. They alſo recommended themſelves ſo much to the great, that the confeſſors of catholic princes were almoſt all Jeſuits. At the ſame time they never loſt ſight of their original object, which was the converſion of infidels, and they were more indefatigable in that reſpect than the mendicants had been before them; and for ſome time their ſucceſs ſeemed to correſpond to their labours.

Ignatius, foreſeeing the inconvenience that would ariſe to his ſociety from the members of it aſpiring to eccleſiaſtical dignities, made a new regulation in his ſociety, by which he forbad their accepting of any church preferment, as a mortal ſin. But by not being biſhops, the Jeſuits gave leſs umbrage, and in fact had more power, and ſerved the papal intereſt more effectually, than if they had been poſſeſſed of the higheſt ſtations in the church.

Soon after the eſtabliſhment of his order, Ignatius admitted ſome women to take the ſame vows, and to come under the government of his diſciples; but preſently perceiving the inconvenience of this, he not only got his ſociety diſcharged from this incumbrance, but he procured an order from the pope, that there ſhould never be any

order of Jeſuitesſes, or that women ſhould in any form have a connection with his ſociety.

The reputation of this new ſociety was not univerſal. It had many enemies. Melchior Canus, a theologian of the order of Dominicans at Salamanca, repreſented them as the forerunners of antichriſt, and the falſe apoſtles who were to riſe in the laſt times, and who by their addreſs in inſinuating themſelves into houſes, their aſſiduity to the great, their intrigues in courts, their feigning zeal for the ſalvation of their neighbours, and the inſtruction of youth, and other peculiarities, were calculated to do much miſchief. His oppoſition prevented their eſtabliſhment in Salamanca, where he lived till they contrived to have him ſent as a theologian to the council of Trent, when, in his abſence, they ſecured their eſtabliſhment. They found ſtill greater oppoſition in France, but in Portugal they were encouraged for the purpoſe of ſending miſſionaries to diſtant colonies. Above all others Francis Xavier diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his labours in the Eaſt Indies. After preaching with more or leſs ſucceſs in ſeveral other places, he went to Japan.

Julius III was no leſs a favourer of the Jeſuits than Paul III. He publiſhed a bull in their favour, recommending the ſociety in the ſtrongeſt terms; ſaying that, having learned of his predeceſſors

ceſſors the great advantage which that ſociety had been of to the holy ſee, by their intire devotion to the ſucceſſors of St. Peter, he confirmed their inſtitute. "Thus," he ſays, "all the faithful ought "to be ſubject to the ſovereign pontiff, as the "head of the church, and the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, "yet to render the devotion of thoſe fathers to the "apoſtolic ſee the more entire, and the renounc-"ing of their own will the more perfect, in ſuffer-"ing themſelves to be guided by the holy ſpirit, "we have thought proper that they who compoſe "this ſociety, beſides the three ordinary vows, "take a fourth, of intire ſubmiſſion to the ſovereign "pontiff, who can ſend them into any country, "even among Turks and infidels, into the Indies, "or the countries of heretics, without their being "able to refuſe, or make any excuſe whatever. *Ib.* 128. In this bull the pope gave the diſpoſal of the property of the houſes to the General, the profeſſed Jeſuits having no property at all in them.

All the endeavours of the Jeſuits to get an eſtabliſhment in France were in vain. The parliament made the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances againſt it; ſaying that the inſtitution was ſuperfluous, and contrary to the canons, which forbad the eſtabliſhment of new religious ſocieties, that by their inſtitute they were exempt from paying tythes, by

which the curés would be deprived of their rights, that they might leave the kingdom without the leave of the parliament, and that they were not ſubject to the jurisdiction of the biſhops, which was contrary to the liberties of the Gallican church.

Some of the diſciples of Ignatius entering more than he wiſhed into the profeſſed humble ſpirit of their order, and declining to be confeſſors to princes and great men, by means of which they afterwards obtained their great wealth and power, he reproached them for it; ſaying "The humility of "apoſtolical men like you, is more generous than "you imagine. You ought not to deſpiſe the "loweſt functions, but neither ought you to dread "the higheſt, for you are not monks, confined to "cloiſters. It is true you ought to exerciſe your "zeal in hoſpitals, gallies, and priſons, but you "are not to fly from the palaces of princes. Being "bound by your inſtitute to labour for the ſalvati-"on of all, you ought to make no diſtinction of "perſons, eſpecially not to refuſe to labour for "kings, to whom you owe ſo much the more of "your attention, as they are farther from the king-"dom of heaven than other men." *Ibid.* p. 136. By this time there was awakened in Ignatius an ambition which had not appeared before: for at his outſet no man could avoid what is called the world, and eſpecially the great world, with more care than

than he did. His followers ſoon ſhewed that they had no objection to the new admonition of their founder.

It muſt be acknowledged that the Jeſuits were indefatigable in their attempts to introduce the catholic religion, and exalt the power of the pope, in many foreign countries, as China, and Japan in Aſia, Ethiopia, and Congo in Africa, and for ſome time their ſucceſs was very promiſing. But, contrary to the practice of the apoſtles, they always applied themſelves in the firſt inſtance to the princes, and having by much addreſs gained *them*, introduced their religion among the common people in a manner independent of any rational conviction; and having too generally aimed at civil power, ſo as to bring the people into ſubjection to the ſee of Rome, they every where at length gave umbrage to the governing powers, and were finally expelled, leaving the people more prejudiced againſt the catholic religion, and chriſtianity in general, than they found them. It may however, be clearly ſeen from the peruſal of the *Lettres edificantes et curieuses*, that whatever might be views of their ſuperiors and employers, no men ever ſhewed more of a truly chriſtian ſpirit, more zeal, diſintereſtedneſs, humility, patience, and perſeverance, in acting or ſuffering, than many, I believe than moſt, of the miſſionaries did. At the ſame time it is evident

vident that they were men of extraordinary talents, qualified to riſe in the world, if that had been their object. I have read theſe letters with ſingular ſatisfaction. This I obſerve in this place in general, as it is not my deſign to relate the particulars either of their reception in, or their expulſion from, foreign countries.

The Jeſuits did not ſucceed in their endeavours to eſtabliſh themſelves in England on the acceſſion of queen Mary; their exorbitant demand of the revenues of all the ſuppreſſed monaſteries being rejected with indignation by cardinal Pole, and the biſhops; from whoſe juriſdiction they were to have been exempt. They alſo failed with reſpect to Flanders, the council rejecting all their propoſals, tho' favoured by Philip II, on account of the diſturbances which they had occaſioned in other countries.

On the acceſſion of Paul IV, the founder of the Theatins, the Jeſuits were much alarmed; as having given him offence by their not entering into his order. But finding how uſeful they were to the advancement of the papal power, he was reconciled to them, and only prevailed upon them to change one of their conſtitutions, which forbad their celebration of divine ſervice; and after ſome time maſs and veſpres were performed every Sunday, and on all holy days, at their houſe in Rome.

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In A. D. 1556 Ignatius, exhauſted by his labours, died at the age of ſixty five, when he had the ſatisfaction to ſee his ſociety eſtabliſhed in moſt parts of the world. They then had an hundred colleges, without reckoning the noviciates, the profeſſed houſes, and miſſions, which in all compoſed thirteen provinces, adminiſtered and filled by more than a million of Jeſuits. *Ibid*, p. 197. After much cabal and diſputation he was ſucceeded by Lainez, a man much ſuperior to himſelf in every reſpect.

Under him leave was given to ſtudy, and to give lectures from other theological works beſides thoſe of Thomas Aquinas, which the hiſtorian ſays opened a door to new opinions, and all the ſcandalous exceſſes which the Jeſuits introduced into morality. *Ibid*, p. 231. Pius IV ſhewed them more favour than his predeceſſor, granting them a confirmation and extenſion of their privileges, with reſpect both to their univerſities, and their exemption from foreign juriſdiction.

SECTION

SECTION XX.

Of the Waldenſes in this Period.

THE antient Waldenſes were far from being ſuffered to paſs unnoticed in this period, notwithſtanding the riſe of new and more intereſting objects of attention. Having ſuffered much in various and long continued perſecutions, in conſequence of which their learned paſtors had been diſperſed, and much ignorance had prevailed among them, they had been generally induced to attend maſs, and to have their children baptized by the popiſh prieſts. But in A. D. 1530, hearing of the progreſs of the reformation in Switzerland and Germany, they ſent two of their miniſters, G. Morel and P. Maſſon to Baſil to confer with Œcolampadius, others to Straſburg to confer with Bucer and Capito, and two to Farel at Newchaſtel. To Œcolampadius they preſented a large writing in latin, containing an account of their church diſcipline and doctrine, *Ruchat*, Vol. 3, p. 253.

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in which their opinions on the ſubject of grace and predeſtination appeared to be unfavourable to what had been advanced by Luther, at which they ſeem to have been ſomewhat diſturbed. They thought that it was in the power of man to do the will of God, that he willed all men to be ſaved, and that no man periſhed but through his own fault. Œcolampadius blamed them for yielding ſo far as they had done to avoid perſecution, but on the ſubject of grace and predeſtination he ſeemed to agree with them; ſaying, that men's deſtruction came of themſelves, and ſalvation from God only. *Ibid*, p. 269.

On the return of the deputies from their miſſion they ſuffered greatly. P. Maſſon was impriſoned at Dijon. Mr. Gonin who was ſent to Farel was arreſted at Grenoble and thrown into the river in a ſack, but the reſt arrived ſafe at Merindol, where they gave an account of their miſſion; and a ſynod was called for the year following, at which ſome foreign miniſters were requeſted to attend.

In A. D. 1534, Charles duke of Savoy was ſo much importuned by the archbiſhop and inquiſitor of Turin, to perſecute the Waldenſes, who were then very numerous, that he ſent about five hundred of his troops againſt them, and they plundered and deſtroyed all that came in their way. But

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theſe poor people when they were recovered from the panic with which they were firſt ſeized, returned upon their enemies, and repulſed them with great ſlaughter. After this ambuſhes were laid for ſmall parties of them, and many were cut off in this way; but this was far from extirpating them. G. Morel in his memoirs, written a little before this time, ſays then there were about eight hundred thouſand perſons who profeſſed this religion.

In A. D. 1536 Francis I having conquered Piedmont, Paul III perſuaded him to proceed againſt the Waldenſes, and many of them were apprehended and executed in conſequence of his orders for that purpoſe.

In A. D. 1545, ſome troops under the command of D'Oppeda were ſent againſt them, and they ſet fire to ſeveral villages, when the poor inhabitants were ſlain without reſiſtance, and every kind of enormity to which ſoldiers are accuſtomed, were committed. At the ſame time all perſons were forbidden under pain of death to give them any food or ſuccours. At Cabrieres, where they offered to ſurrender the place, and leave the country, provided they might be permitted to do it unmoleſted, this general taking poſſeſſion of it, put to death all the men, and ſhutting up the women in a barn full of ſtraw, ſet fire to it, and deſtroyed them

them all. More than four thouſand perſons were ſlaughtered on this occaſion, and twelve towns and villages reduced to aſhes.

The king was exceedingly offended at this cruelty; but when, in the next reign, an inquiry was inſtituted, in order to bring the criminals to juſtice, D'Oppeda eſcaped puniſhment by the intereſt of the duke of Guiſe. However, in A. D. 1552 Guerin, an advocate, who iſſued the commiſſion, and had been peculiarly active in promoting the perſecution, was beheaded, and ſoon after D'Oppeda himſelf died, as is related by Thuanus, of a dreadful diſeaſe in his bowels, receiving, as he ſays, from God the puniſhment from which his judges had ſaved them.

In A. D. 1559 Philibert Emanuel, being reſtored to his eſtates, was perſuaded to attempt the reduction of theſe poor people, and their moſt earneſt entreaties had no effect to divert him from his purpoſe; but the troops ſent againſt them were defeated, and at length in A. D. 1561, at the interceſſion of the dutcheſs, who was ſuppoſed to favour their doctrines, he entered into a treaty with them, by which they were allowed the exerciſe of their religion. *Moreland*, p. 238.

SECTION XXI.

Of the Bohemian Brethren.

THE Bohemian Brethren had ſeveral conferrences with Luther, as has been obſerved in his hiſtory, and tho' at one time he had conceived a great prejudice againſt them, he was afterwards reconciled to them, and did not diſapprove their church diſcipline. He always lamented the want of it in his own churches, but had not fixed on any plan. At their laſt conferrence in A. D. 1542, he ſeems to have thought it beſt that the two churches ſhould preſerve their peculiar diſcipline in brotherly love, uſing theſe words, "Be ye "apoſtles of the Bohemians, I and mine will be "apoſtles of the Germans." He alſo wrote to John Auguſta, one of their deputies to him, ſaying, "I exhort you in the Lord to perſevere with "us unto the end in the fellowſhip of the ſpirit, "and of doctrine." *Crantz.*

The Bohemian Brethren had alſo in this period ſome intercourſe with the Waldenſes, who ſent a deputation to them to renew their fellowſhip with them, and alſo with the reformed at Straſburgh, where Bucer was ſo much pleaſed with them, that he

he wrote to them as follows, "I believe you are "the only people at this day who, together with a "pure doctrine, exercise a genuine and well a-"dapted discipline, which is not grievous but pro-"fitable." *Ibid*, p. 45. Calvin also kept up a constant correspondence with them, and is said to have introduced some part of their discipline into the church of Geneva.

Not being willing to support the emperor Charles V against the Protestants, these Brethren were exposed to a grievous persecution. John Augusta and others were put in prison, and otherwise cruelly used, and he was not released till the death of Ferdinand, sixteen years after. Being ordered to join either the Catholics or the Calixtins, many of the brethren, under the conduct of their bishop Matthias Lyon, went into Poland; and being driven thence they went to Prussia, where duke Albert, having had their doctrine and discipline examined, granted them, by a diploma dated March 19th, A. D. 1549. the same civil privileges with his other subjects. Most of them settled at Marianwerder.

These Bohemian brethren constantly refused to take any part in the controversy between the Lutherans and the reformed in Switzerland about the eucharist, contenting themselves with the use of scripture expressions on the subject, and in A. D. 1560,

1560, those who were of this branch of the reformed in Poland united with them at the synod of Xians, when the discipline of the brethren was accepted by a majority of votes, with some alteration respecting the division of the churches into districts, and the appointment of an ecclesiastical and civil senior over each district; the business of the latter being to attend to the outward concerns of the church, and all the provincial synods, which were to be held every year, to hear differences and adjust them. *Ib.* p. 55. This union of the brethren with the Swiss made them suspected by the Lutherans, who in many places were never wholly reconciled to them, and frequently did them ill offices, notwithstanding the friendship which had been shewn them by Luther.

SECTION XXII.

Miscellaneous Articles.

By this time the learned Catholics began to be sensible of the advantage which the Protestants derived from their skill in the languages in which the scriptures were written, being able to quote the original instead of translations; but they took a very absurd and impolitic method

to

to deprive them of it. The faculty of theology at Paris, which had been diſtinguiſhed for the ability, learning, and even the liberality, of its members, in all the dark ages, now acted a part very unworthy of them. For, dreading the very ſhadow of hereſy, they cenſured every thing that ſeemed to lead to it, and in A. D. 1530 they paſſed a cenſure on the two following propoſitions, viz. 1. "The "Holy Scriptures cannot be well underſtood with-"out a knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, and o-"ther languages. 2. A preacher cannot truly ex-"plain the goſpels and epiſtles without a knowl-"ledge of thoſe languages."

In the ſame year they ordered the profeſſors of Greek and Hebrew in the Royal College founded by Francis I, viz. P. Danez, Fr. Vatablus, P. Paſhadius, and A. Gierdacier, to appear before the parliament, and procured them to be forbidden to explain the ſcriptures according to the Greek and Hebrew, without the permiſſion of the univerſity. It was, however, acknowledged, that the ſtudy of thoſe languages was commendable in thoſe divines who were not ſuſpected of the errors of Luther, and who were always diſpoſed to maintain inviolate the authority of the Vulgate tranſlation. *Cont. Fleury*, Vol. 27, p. 224. So much uſe was made of the Greek and Hebrew by the Proteſtant divines, that the bare knowledge of thoſe languages

was ſufficient to render a man ſuſpected of hereſy. The magiſtrates of Lucerne finding in A. D. 1523 ſome Greek books in the poſſeſſion of Collinus, then a canon of Munſter in Argaw, but afterwards prof ſſor of Greek at Zurich. ſaid, "This man is "a Lutheran. Every thing Greek is heretical." *Ruchat Prelim. Disc.* p 9

In this period the Florentine academy was eſtabliſhed by the celebrated Lorenzo de Medicis for the cultivation of the Platonic philoſophy with great credit. It was the firſt inſtitution in Europe for the purſuit of ſcience detached from the ſcholaſtic method then univerſally adopted. The doctrines of Plato were as remote from the purpoſes of common life, and general utility, as thoſe of Ariſtotle; but their introduction was of eſſential ſervice to the cauſe of free enquiry and ſubſtantial knowledge. By dividing the attention of the learned they deprived the doctrines of Ariſtotle of that ſervile reſpect and veneration which had been ſo long paid to them, and by introducing the diſcuſſion of new ſubjects, they prepared the way for the purſuit of truths more within the ſphere of the human intellect. *Roſcoe's Life of Lorenzo*, p. 36.

2. The Catholics were more united among themſelves in conſequence of having a common and formidable enemy to oppoſe. This put a ſtop to many diſputes which otherwiſe might have occaſioned dangerous diviſions. Before